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WHAT DROVE THEIR CRUEL CRUSADE?

HISTORY MAGAZINE

BRITAIN'S BESTSELLING HI

March 2022 / **historyextra.com**

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The unstoppable rise of England's conquerors

Nixon in China
The encounter that stunned the world

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WELCOME

MARCH 2022

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE

One of Britain's greatest battles in the Second World War was the fight against starvation. For a country hugely dependent on food supplies from overseas, this was a very real threat as U-boats prowled the waters of the Atlantic. Britain's eventual survival owed much to the defeat of the U-boat menace, but also to a **farming revolution that helped keep the nation fed** – even if not always in the most appetising fashion. In this month's cover feature, John Martin explains how Britain dug for victory. Turn to page 40 for that.

At the other end of Britain's historical spectrum, Stonehenge is currently having a bit of a moment. On the day this issue comes out, a major exhibition on the monument opens at the British Museum, and a new book on its construction is published, authored by the archaeologist Mike Pitts. For this month's issue we asked Mike to tackle some of the **key questions around Stonehenge's creation**, drawing on the latest research. As his piece on page 50 shows, the ingenuity of Neolithic Britons was simply breathtaking.

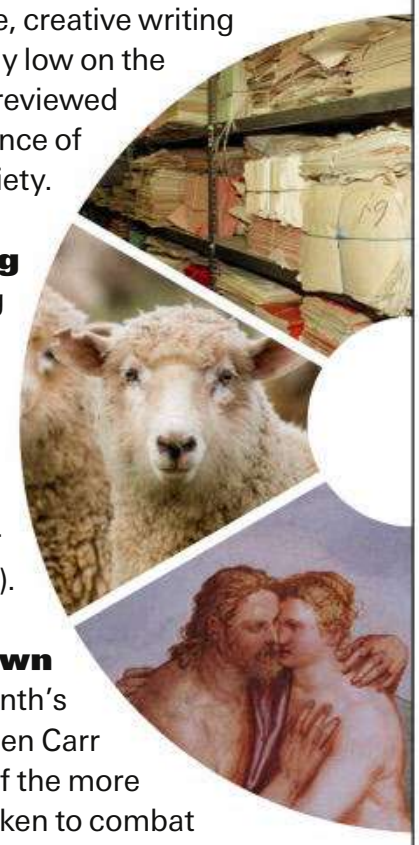
Finally, I'd like to highlight a new regular contributor to the magazine. After eight years of sterling service, **Dominic Sandbrook** has stepped down as author of *Anniversaries*, and I'm delighted that we've been able to replace him with **Helen Carr.** Helen is a medieval historian, author and podcaster, whose recent work includes co-editing the acclaimed book *What Is History, Now?* You can read her first selection of fascinating anniversaries on page 12.

Rob Attar
Editor

THREE THINGS I'VE LEARNED THIS MONTH

1. Secret poets

Of all the activities we might connect with the East German secret police, creative writing would probably be fairly low on the list. And yet a new book, reviewed on p83, reveals the existence of a Stasi poetry society.



2. Baa humbug

There are so many arresting details in our Second World War food piece, but one that caught my eye was the creation of the Murkey – a piece of sheep meat that was shaped like a turkey for Christmas (page 46).

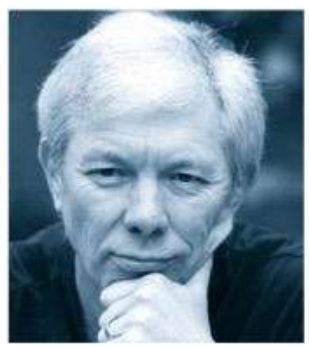
3. Pucker down

In this month's *Anniversaries*, Helen Carr highlights one of the more unusual steps taken to combat plague in the 16th century: a ban on public kissing in the Italian city of Naples (page 14).

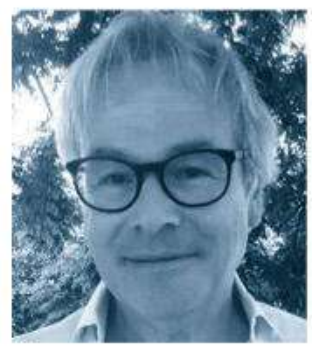
THIS ISSUE'S CONTRIBUTORS

Rana Mitter
"It's half a century since Richard Nixon's epoch-making visit to China. As today's US-China relations become strained, what does that 'week that changed the world' have to tell us about making friends across fences?"
Rana revisits the Cold War diplomatic mission that thawed glacial Sino–US relations on page 25

Judith A Green
"I'm very interested in 19th and early 20th-century depictions of the Normans, including the statuary of William the Conqueror and Rollo: they're always in heroic poses. Even down to the late 20th century, if you read a book about the Normans, it was very much a success story."
Judith chronicles the Normans' origins on page 76



Mike Pitts
"How was Stonehenge built? Trying to answer that question brings us closer than any other line of research to Neolithic people and the enormous challenges they faced at this unique site."
Mike tackles some of the biggest questions about the construction of Stonehenge on page 50



Stephen Walker
"While researching my latest book about the first human in space I was astonished to discover just how many animals had also been to space. Here was an incredible and largely untold story with its own cast of animal heroes, triumphs and tragedies."
Stephen discusses the creatures who left Earth behind on page 66

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ON THE COVER: DIG FOR VICTORY – GROW YOUR OWN VEGETABLES, BRITISH PROPAGANDA POSTER, C 1940S; ALAMY. THIS PAGE: FRAN MONKS/STEVE SAYERS/AKG-IMAGES/DREAMSTIME

CONTENTS

MARCH 2022

FEATURES

18 Witch-hunters
Marion Gibson considers whether sadism was the prime motivator behind the terrifying witch-hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries

25 Nixon in China
Rana Mitter reveals how the US leader's diplomatic mission 50 years ago augured China's entrance onto the global stage

33 Lodging with Mozart
Gillian Williamson chronicles the craze for renting rooms in Georgian London

40 Digging for victory
John Martin charts Britain's battle to stave off starvation in the Second World War

50 Secrets of Stonehenge
Mike Pitts answers the biggest questions on the construction of this astonishing Neolithic monument

60 Captivating children
In the third part of our series on the BBC's history, **David Hendy** recalls how *Blue Peter* captured children's hearts in the 1960s and 70s

66 A space menagerie
Stephen Walker tells the story of the animals sent into space to pave the way for human exploration beyond Earth

EVERY MONTH

This month in history

7 **History news**
10 **Michael Wood** on life in 1930s Berlin
12 **Anniversaries**
16 **Letters**

64 **Q&A** Your history questions answered

Books

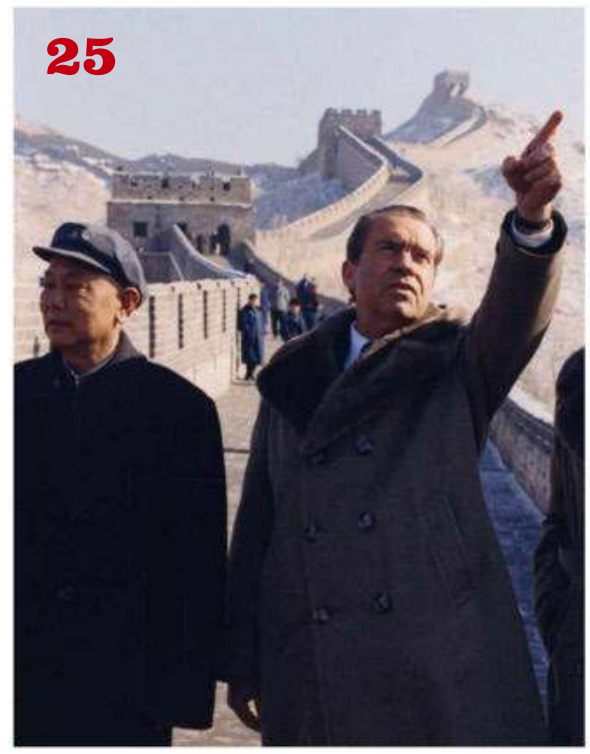
76 **Interview:** Judith A Green discusses her new study of the rise of the Normans
80 New history **books reviewed**

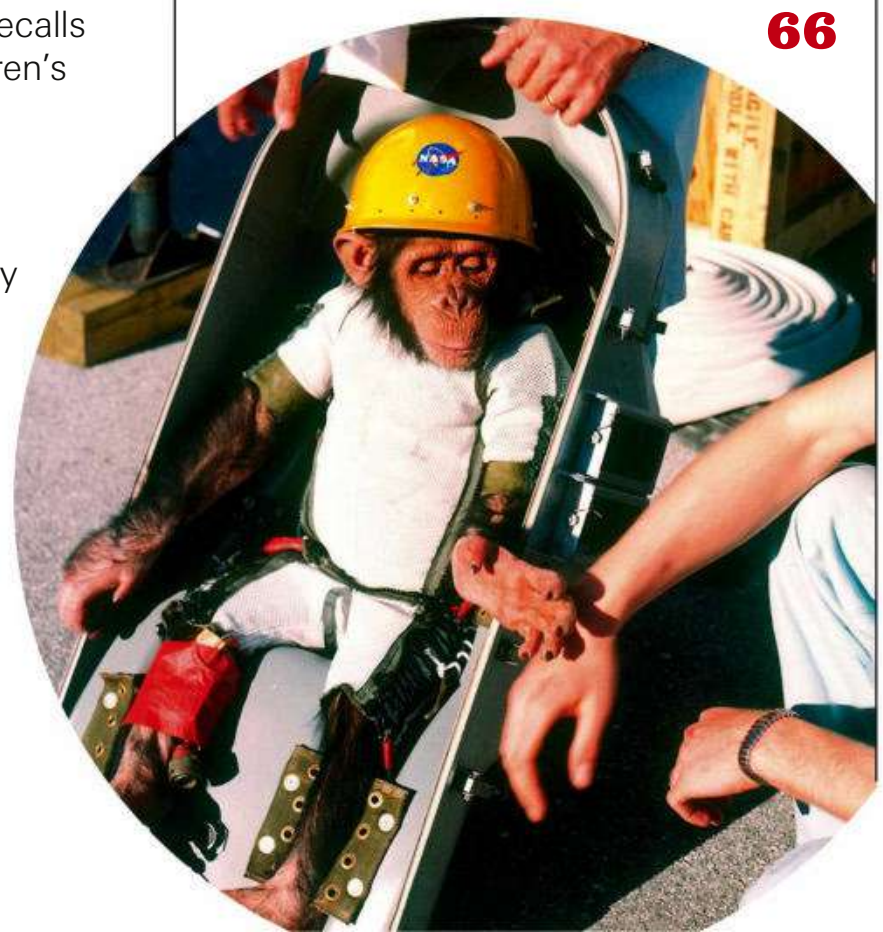
Encounters

88 **Diary:** What to see and do this month
94 **Explore:** The Victorian charms of Llandudno

96 **Prize crossword**

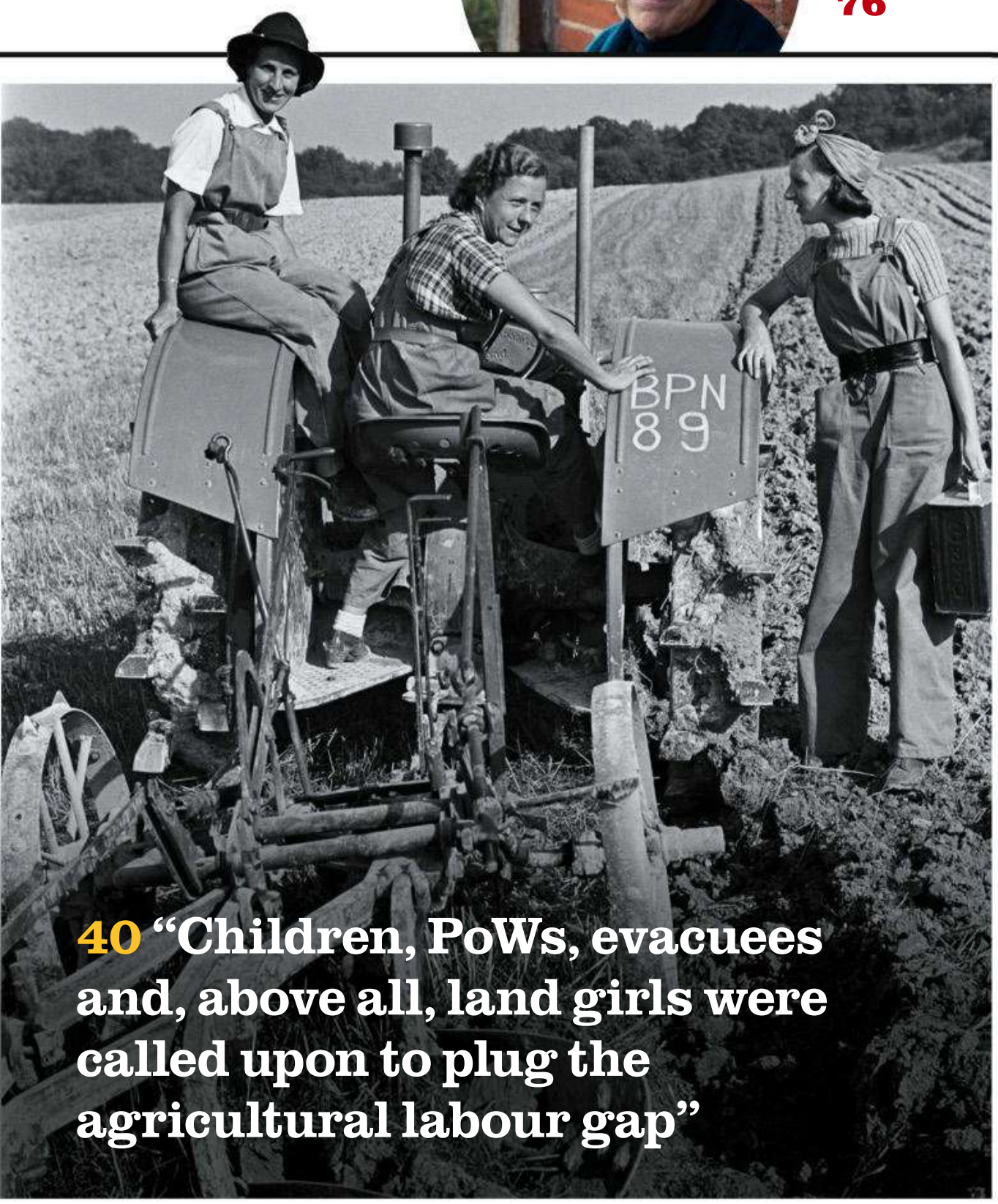
98 **My history hero**
Actor Craig Charles chooses Muhammad Ali





GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY/FRAN MONKS

76



40 “Children, PoWs, evacuees and, above all, land girls were called upon to plug the agricultural labour gap”

50

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THIS MONTH IN HISTORY

ALAMY/UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Dr Katherine Kanne, of the University of Exeter, with the jawbone of a horse found near the Lincolnshire village of Goltho
BACKGROUND: European knights capture Jerusalem in a stylised depiction from the early 14th century. Portrayals of large horses in medieval warfare may be based on tall tales

EYE-OPENER

Miniature marvels

If historical films are to be believed, medieval warfare was fought by massed ranks of men astride huge horses that were just as fearsome as their riders. Yet a new study suggests that such mounts may instead have been on the small size – indeed, no larger than what would today be considered a pony.

That's one of the findings made by a team of UK experts, including the University of Exeter's Dr Katherine Kanne, who analysed the bones of around 2,000 horses dating from between AD 300 and 1650, found at more than 170 archaeological sites around England. The research, combined with evidence drawn from documentary and literary sources, reveals that the majority of those animals measured less than 14 hands (1.4 metres) tall. It's thought that instead of size, steeds may have been bred for their temperament or other useful qualities, including the ability to carry out long-distance raids.

Have a story? Please email Matt Elton at matt.elton@immediate.co.uk

TALKING POINTS
Courting controversy

The acquittal of four people charged with criminal damage, after removing a statue of a slave trader, reignited discussions on how we commemorate the past. **ANNA WHITELOCK** charted the debate

In January, four people involved in the tearing down of a statue of 17th-century slave trader Edward Colston in Bristol were cleared of criminal damage, reigniting the debate about the role of historical statues in our view of the past. Historian and broadcaster **Greg Jenner** (@greg_jenner), for instance, tweeted that "statues are put up in praise, they can be taken down in condemnation. That is not changing the past, it's reflecting what we value in our present."

As you'd expect, Jenner's remark prompted much discussion. **Aspidistra** (@Aspidistra MW) countered that "statues are meant to be a reminder, so let's leave them all up and add plaques and explanations as to what they represent – let's make people think." **Gee Aitch Cee** (@Scriblit) noted that "both [erecting and taking down statues] are public political acts. Both happen all the time. Colston is still on public display, he has been recontextualised as a figure who is condemned, not revered. Certain opinionists have either conveniently 'forgotten' that, or are upset by the recontextualisation." **Dr Sally Le Page** (@sallylepage) remarked: "If it's acceptable to cut down a 500-year-old tree, it should be acceptable to take down the odd statue. I redecorate my home all the time – why not redecorate public spaces?" That point was echoed by **Vanessa Rowlands** (@VanessaRowlands), who suggested that "we should be able to review and 'rehang' the outdoor public space just as museums and other internal spaces do." **Patricia Lacey** (@Patrici57847240) was among those to disagree strongly, arguing that "it is showing you value nothing… [and that] vandalism is okay".

Join the debate at **twitter.com/historyextra**

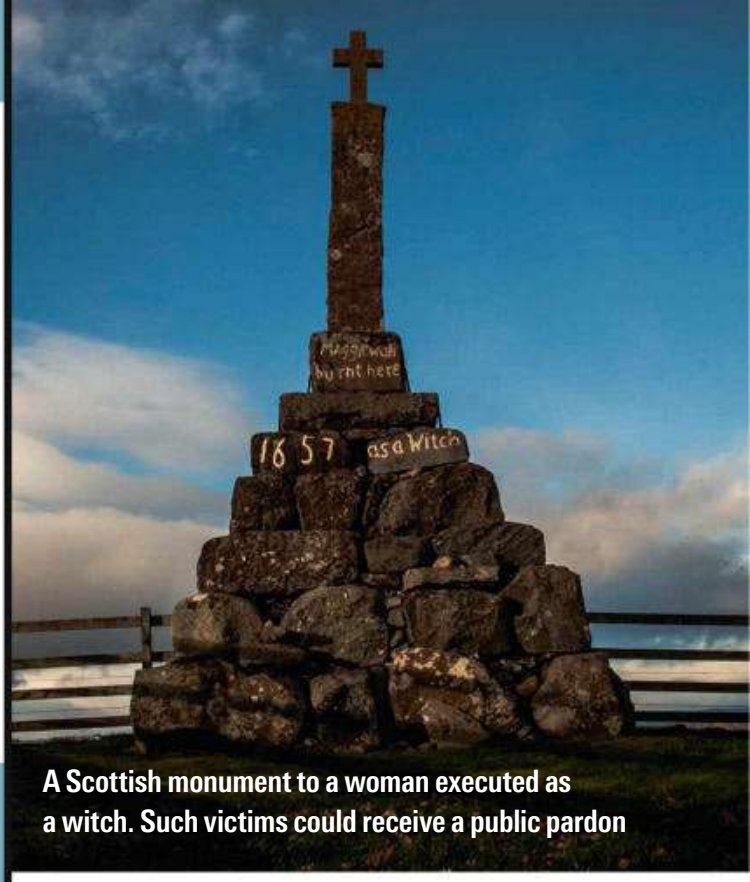
Other people stressed the need to consider the nuances both of the specific situation and the wider debate. **Iain Bloomfield** (@iain_bloomfield) pointed to the "extremely long-term campaign to have it removed… It was all tried for years." **Piers North** (@PiersNorth) noted that "this argument – like most these days – goes to extremes from both sides. I always think history is a pile of nuance… It is the process and who decides, and when… everything is a moment of time." The need to understand the context in which statues are removed was amplified by **Linda Jones** (@joneslinda), who wrote that the "western establishment rejoices when statues of Lenin or Stalin are pulled down by 'crowds' (never 'mobs'). [There's] no talk about 'learning from history'… or acting without due process."

This, clearly, is not a debate that will die down any time soon. The last word for now should go to **Ms L.O.S.T.** (@littlemslost1): "I really recommend Alex von Tunzelmann's excellent book *Fallen Idols* as a starting point on statues. Perhaps it's time MPs liaised with historians more and together a more nuanced approach can be created." Yes please!

Anna Whitelock is professor of history at City, University of London

The four people cleared of damage in January for their part in toppling a Bristol statue of Edward Colston

"If it's acceptable to cut down a 500-year-old tree, it should be acceptable to take down the odd statue"



A Scottish monument to a woman executed as a witch. Such victims could receive a public pardon

GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

WITCHCRAFT

Scotland may pardon historical "witches"

Between the 16th and 18th century, a wave of trials involving accusations of witchcraft swept across Europe and North America. In Scotland alone, where James VI & I's pursuit of "witches" was particularly fanatical, an estimated 2,500 people were executed – most of them women. Now an initiative to clear their names is set to be considered in that nation's parliament.

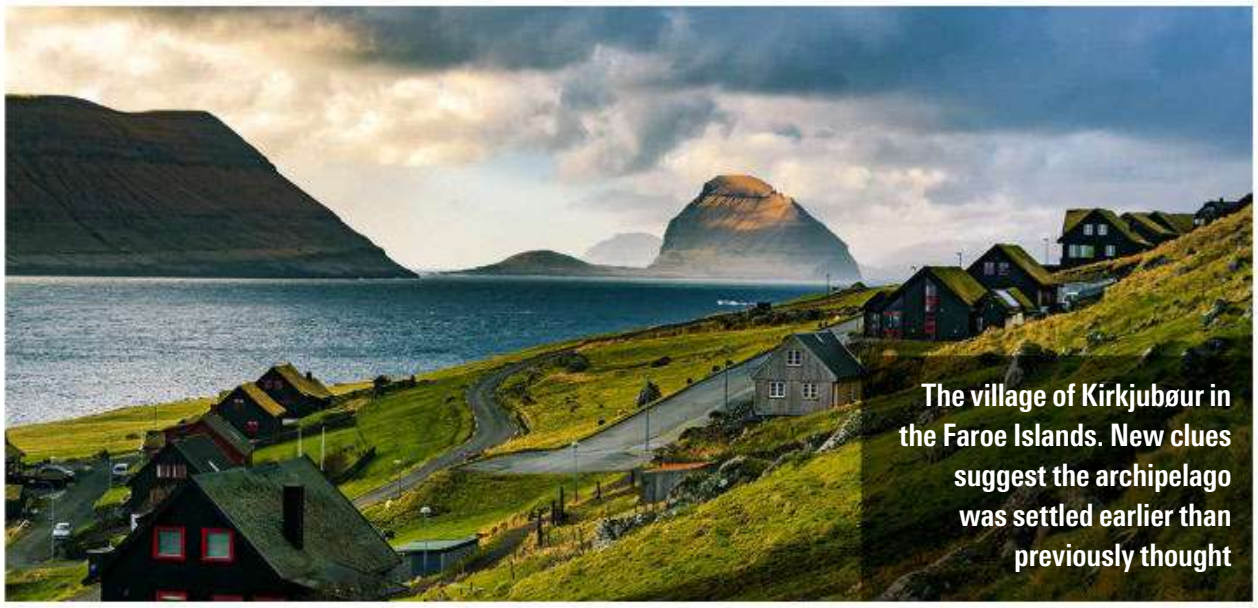
Witches of Scotland (WoS) aims to secure a pardon for people convicted under the 1563 Witchcraft Act, as well as a public apology and a national memorial. The initiative has now been recognised by Nicola Sturgeon's ruling Scottish National Party, with SNP member Natalie Don writing in January that she has "secured the support of my party parliamentary colleagues to press forward with a Members' Bill" to propose issuing a public pardon.

Although other witch trials have captured the public imagination – notably those in the Massachusetts town of Salem in the late 17th century – WoS founder Claire Mitchell argues that addressing their historical legacy in Scotland is vital. "Per capita, during the period between the 16th and 18th century, [Scotland] executed five times as many people as elsewhere in Europe, the vast majority of them women," she told the *Sunday Times*. "We absolutely excelled at finding women to burn in Scotland. Those executed weren't guilty, so they should be acquitted."

Turn to page 18 to read Marion Gibson's feature on witch-hunting in the early modern period

HISTORY IN THE NEWS

A selection of the stories hitting the **history headlines**



The village of Kirkjubøur in the Faroe Islands. New clues suggest the archipelago was settled earlier than previously thought

▲ British or Irish people "beat the Vikings to the Faroe Islands"

Lying in the north Atlantic some 200 miles north-west of Scotland, and midway between Norway and Iceland, the Faroe Islands were part of the Norse world for hundreds of years, having been settled by Vikings in the ninth century AD. Yet new evidence has emerged that those settlers may not have been the archipelago's first human inhabitants – and that travellers from Britain or Ireland arrived centuries earlier.

Researchers exploring a lake on the archipelago found fragments of sheep DNA and evidence of that animal's faeces likely dating from between AD 492 and 512 – but possibly as early as 370. Given the Faroes' remote location, the only explanation for the presence of livestock at that time is that it was deliberately imported by boat.

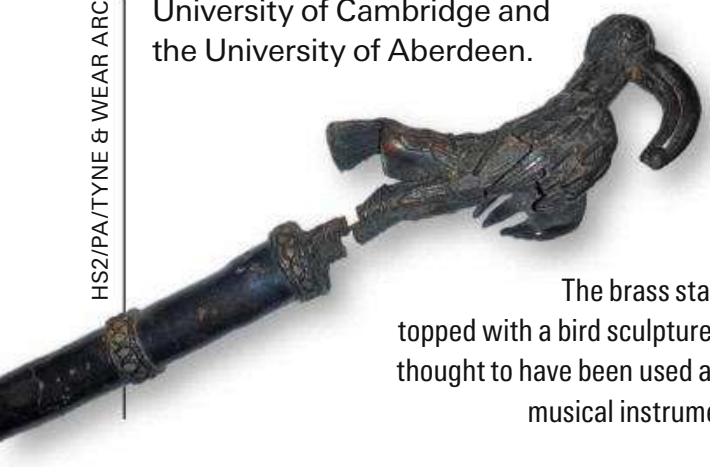
The study supports a range of other evidence, including the presence of ancient Celtic grave markers; research showing that the maternal ancestry of present-day Faroe Islanders predominantly comes from British or Irish people; and the fact that sailing technology wasn't adopted by Scandinavian people until between AD 750 and 820.

Rail dig reveals "extremely rare" Roman-era figurine ▼

Initially dismissed by experts as merely a decaying piece of wood, a 67cm-tall object (pictured below, from various angles) found near the Buckinghamshire village of Twyford is in fact a depiction of a tunic-clad figure believed to date from the early years of Roman settlement in Britain. It's one of a series of finds made by experts working on the ongoing project to build the HS2 high-speed rail link between London and Birmingham. Archaeologist Iain Williamson hailed the discovery as "extremely rare", enthusing about its detail and degree of preservation.

▼ Newcastle museum to return Benin Bronze to Nigeria

The future of artefacts known as the Benin Bronzes, which were removed from what's now Nigeria in the 19th century, has sparked much debate in recent times. Now Great North Museum: Hancock in Newcastle has announced that it will return one such object to Nigeria. The brass stave was added to its collection in 1951 but new research has revealed that it was "taken violently" from the Kingdom of Benin by British forces in 1897. The move follows similar decisions by institutions including Jesus College, University of Cambridge and the University of Aberdeen.



The brass stave, topped with a bird sculpture, is thought to have been used as a musical instrument

▲ Researchers use scans to digitally "unwrap" mummy

The remains of an ancient Egyptian pharaoh, mummified on his death thousands of years ago, have been examined for the first time thanks to non-invasive scanning technology. Amenhotep I, who ruled Egypt from 1525 to 1504 BC, was buried at a site on the west bank of the Nile near Luxor. Experts used computed tomography to create two- and three-dimensional images of his body (such as that pictured above right). The research revealed that the king was about 35 years old when he died, that he stood around 169cm tall – and that he had protruding upper teeth.

Hungry badger "uncovers huge haul of Roman coins" ▼

Historical discoveries are frequently made as a result of technological innovation or human ingenuity – but less often thanks to the efforts of a hungry badger. Yet experts believe that just such an animal is responsible for unearthing a significant cache of Roman coins in northern Spain.

Archaeologists spotted the trove of more than 200 coins, dating from between the third and fifth century AD, in a cave close to the badger's den in the Asturias region. It's thought that the animal's efforts to find food during the winter months of early 2021 included probing a small crevice that yielded copper and bronze coins from places as far-flung as Constantinople (now Istanbul) and Thessalonica (Thessaloniki). Experts now hope to carry out a more detailed excavation – with or without animal assistance. H

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MICHAEL WOOD ON...
REAL VOICES FROM HITLER'S GERMANY

"It is unsurpassed among the books that came out of the war"

Recently, I saw the absolutely enthralling new production of *Cabaret*, which tells the tale of American writer Cliff Bradshaw in 1930s Berlin. This musical chronicles Bradshaw's relationship with nightclub singer Sally Bowles, the fictional alter ego of young Jean Ross – later a prominent writer, political activist and war correspondent in the Spanish Civil War.

Cabaret is based on a book by Christopher Isherwood. A friend of English poets Stephen Spender and WH Auden, who also spent time in the German capital, he moved to Berlin in the dying days of the Weimar Republic to teach English and to indulge in its hedonistic nightlife.

But time was running out: "There was a sensation of doom to be felt in the Berlin streets," wrote Spender, while Carl Jung said that "the smell of burning was in the air". In 1937, Isherwood left for England. The soul of the nation was lost – if a historian may use such a phrase.

Isherwood's experiences inspired his semi-autobiographical 1939 novel *Goodbye to Berlin*, which was adapted into a 1951 stage show. It would ultimately inspire a musical and a film – one of the all-time Oscars record-holders. However, Isherwood criticised the stage version for not reflecting the reality of 1930s Berlin. As for Spender, he recalled that "There is not a single meal, or club, in the movie *Cabaret*, that Christopher and I could have afforded. What we mostly knew was the Berlin of poverty, unemployment, political demonstrations and street fighting between forces of the extreme left and the extreme right." The musical is, though, full of incredibly powerful scenes, such as the doomed love affair between the Aryan Mrs Schneider and the Jewish fruit seller Mr Schultz. "Don't worry," says Schultz, ever the optimist. "Everything will be alright."

Coincidentally, when I saw the show I was rereading the diaries of Victor Klemperer. Here is the story Spender wanted told. Klemperer, a patriotic German of Jewish heritage, decorated in the First World War, recorded daily life in Dresden from the early 1930s through to the end of the Second World War and beyond. Even the abridged English version is nearly 2,000 pages long, and to my mind is unsurpassed among the books that came out of the war – the best-written and most evocative account of daily life in Hitler's Germany, portraying the disintegration of democracy and the remorseless growth of fascism. "The defeat of 1918 did not depress me as greatly as the present state of affairs," he wrote in the early 1930s. "It is shocking how day after day naked acts of violence, law breaking and barbarous opinions appear undisguised as official decrees… and what is the strangest of all is how we are blind in the face of events… Will the terror be tolerated, and for how long?"

In Klemperer's diaries, this vast tragedy unfolds as seen through one man's eyes. He felt he had a "duty to write", even though he would surely have faced death if discovered. We follow him as the pressure grows: "The 'Jewish star', large as the palm of a hand, was issued to us yesterday for 10 pfennigs, to be worn from tomorrow," he wrote on 18 September 1941. We walk with him as he searches snowy streets for potatoes, and as he hears, on 13 January 1942, the first terrible rumours of the systematic killing of Jews. There are the tiny details – "no one wants to repair our vacuum cleaner" – and the earth-shaking: reading his account of the bombing of Dresden left me gasping for breath.

The son of a rabbi, Victor escaped the death camps partly because his wife Eva was "Aryan". In 1945, the couple found their house outside Dresden still standing, its overgrown garden full of ripe fruit. Then, after the war, came "the lesser evil": communist East Germany, in which Klemperer died in 1960. But, he asks, "how long will it take to remove the National Socialist filth from these children's heads?"

Today we have countless sources, histories, diaries and letters, works of fiction, films and plays, all providing testimony to that crisis of European civilisation – through the aftermath of which, it could be said, we are still living. As Cliff Bradshaw says, boarding his last train out of Berlin: "There was a cabaret, and there was a master of ceremonies and there was a city called Berlin, in a country called Germany – and it was the end of the world…" H

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. He has presented numerous BBC series, and his latest book is *The Story of China* (Simon & Schuster, 2021). His Twitter handle is @mayavision

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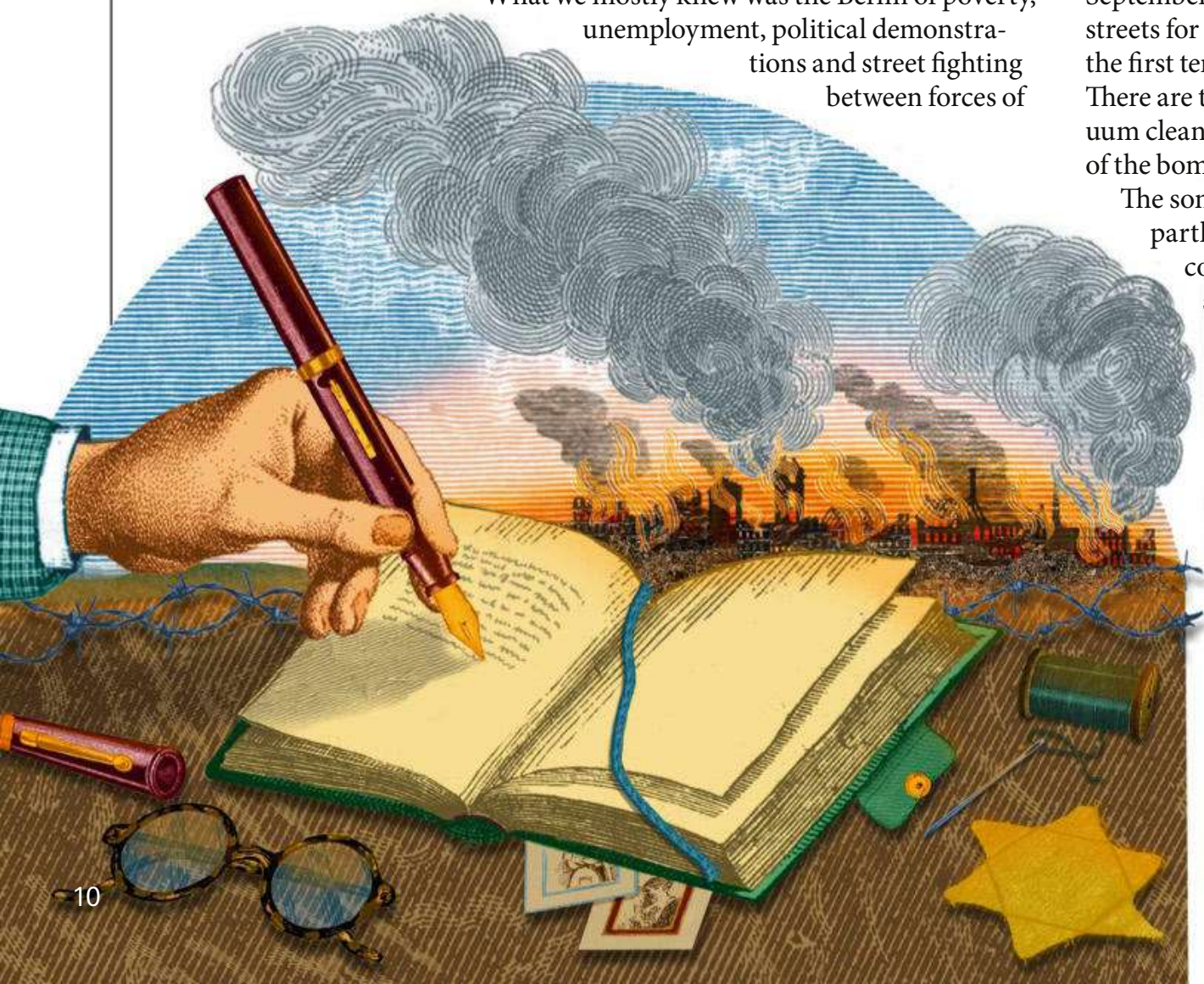

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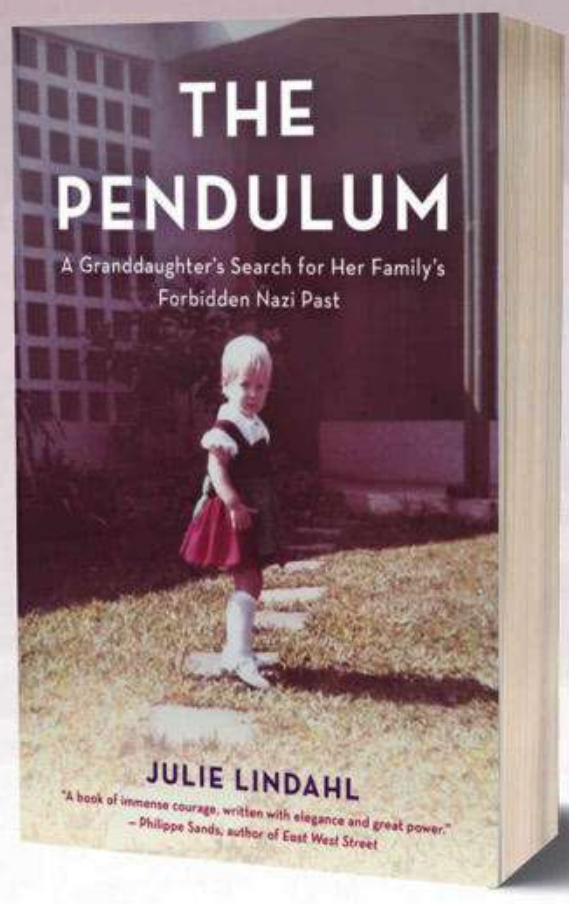
Julie Lindahl felt a sense of shame hung over her family, but had no idea why. Her father's dying words confirmed she needed answers.


THE PENDULUM
A Granddaughter's Search for Her Family's Forbidden Nazi Past
JULIE LINDAHL
"A book of immense courage, written with elegance and great power."
– Philippe Sands, author of East West Street

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Philippe Sands, author of *East West Street*

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ANNIVERSARIES

HELEN CARR highlights events that took place in March in history

18 MARCH 978

King Edward is murdered at Corfe

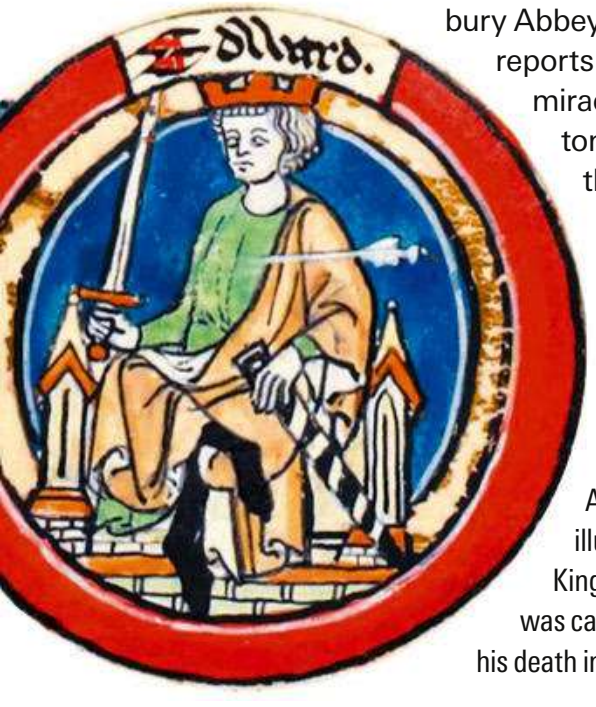
The teenage monarch is viciously stabbed in the back

On 18 March 978, a brutal murder was committed at Corfe in Dorset – and the victim was Edward, king of the English. "No worse deed for the English race was done than this," the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle lamented.

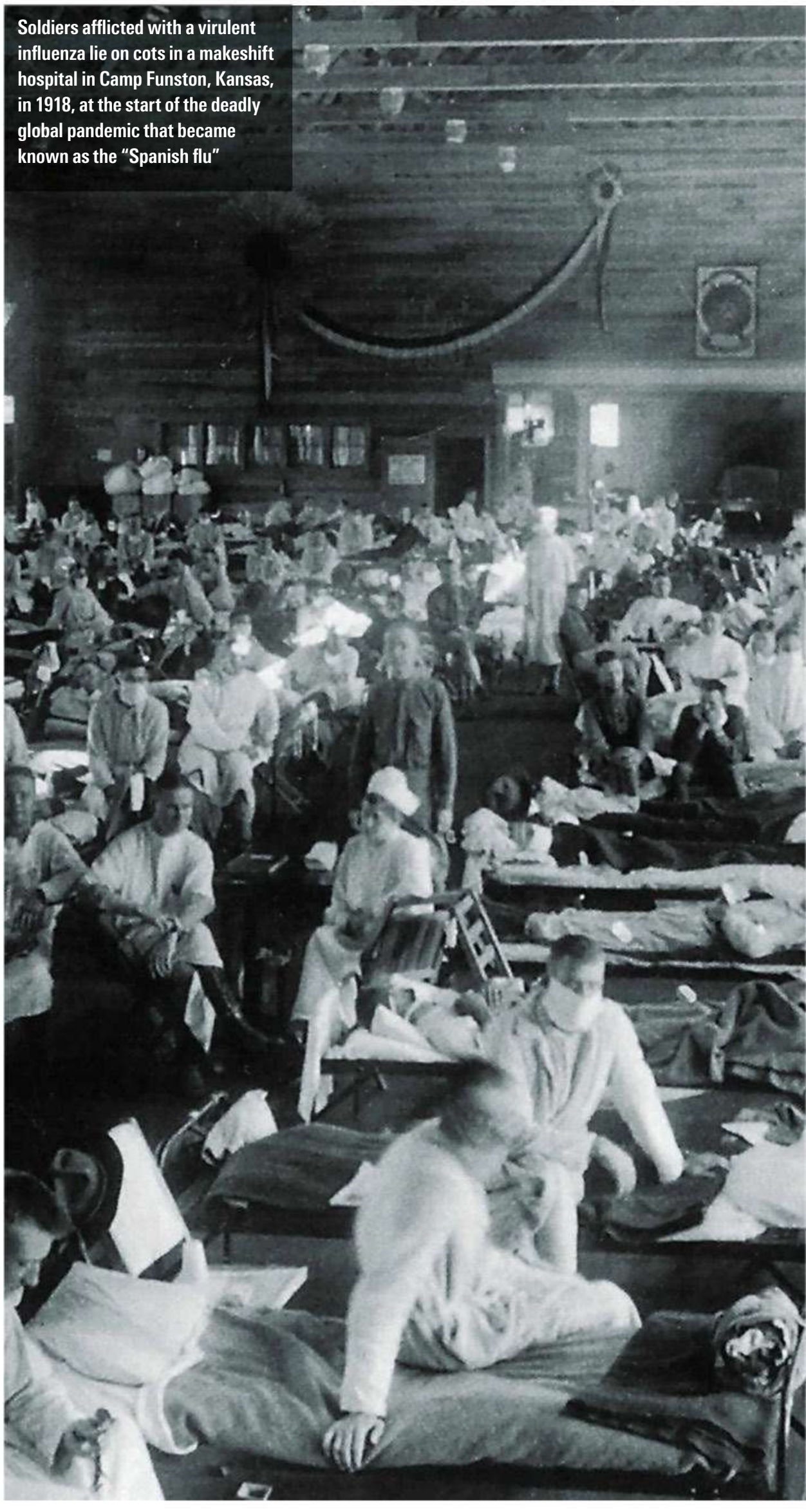
The main suspect for the assassination was Edward's stepmother, Ælfthryth, widow of his father, King Edgar. Certainly she had a motive: with Edward dead, his younger half-brother – her son, Æthelred – would inherit the English throne. It has been supposed that she invited the young king to Corfe to participate in a hunt, with murder in mind.

That March evening, as the hunters gathered, mounted and ready to ride out, Ælfthryth offered Edward a cup of wine. Turning to sip from the cup, he was stabbed in the back by her servants. As he fell from his steed, bloodied but still alive, Edward's foot became caught in the stirrup – and, when the horse fled, he was dragged to his death.

The murdered king was buried quickly and unceremoniously at Saint Mary's Church in nearby Wareham; soon afterwards, though, his remains were disinterred and moved to the more-prestigious Shaftesbury Abbey. Following reports of various miracles at his tomb, he was then canonised – becoming known as Edward the Martyr.



A 14th-century illumination depicts King Edward, who was canonised after his death in 978



Soldiers afflicted with a virulent influenza lie on cots in a makeshift hospital in Camp Funston, Kansas, in 1918, at the start of the deadly global pandemic that became known as the "Spanish flu"

ALAMY

King James VI & I, shown in a c1606 painting

24 MARCH 1603

King James VI & I succeeds to the throne of England after the death of Queen Elizabeth I. His ascension unites England and Scotland under one king, after centuries of continual war and political tension.

4 MARCH 1918

The first case of "Spanish flu" is recorded

Patient Zero falls ill at a military base in Kansas

The winter of 1917–18 had been harsh at Camp Funston, a training centre on Fort Riley in Kansas. The camp was set on a plain spanning some 80 sq km, studded with barracks, stables, repair units and hangars. It was a windy, cold location, creating a hostile environment for soldiers who lived and trained there in preparation to join the First World War, then raging across the globe. Barracks were overcrowded and insufficiently heated.

There was still a chill in the air on the morning of 4 March 1918. Private Albert Gitchell, a US Army mess cook, woke feeling hot and achy, his throat burning. Physically unable to attend to his duties, he dragged himself to the infirmary – Hospital Building 91 – where his temperature was taken, recording a shocking 39.4°C. Wary of spreading whatever disease had infected Gitchell, the camp doctor recommended that the cook – whom he diagnosed with "a bad cold" – spend a few days in a separate tent.

It was already too late. Almost immediately afterwards, several more patients descended on the infirmary complaining of the same symptoms. Before lunchtime, 107 cases of the mysterious flu were recorded at Fort Riley. With so many soldiers ailing, alternative arrangements had to be made rapidly, to accommodate and provide beds for the sick. Men were moved from the bursting quarantine tent into a vast hangar where the beds were spaced in rows, as in a hospital.

This outbreak heralded the start of the pandemic that became known as the "Spanish flu". This strain of influenza virus proved deadly and highly contagious, rapidly spreading worldwide. It infected nearly one-third of the global population and killed an estimated 50 million people. Fortunately, by 1920 the strain had weakened, and flu outbreaks became less-deadly seasonal phenomena.

A couple indulges in a passionate embrace in a 16th-century Italian painting

9 MARCH 1562

Kissing in public is outlawed in Naples in an effort to stem the spread of plague. Ardent couples flouting the new law face serious consequences: **public kissing is punishable by death.**

ALAMY/AKG-IMAGES

Pocahontas, daughter of a Native American chief, marries John Rolfe in 1614. She died in England just as the couple were embarking on their return to North America

21 MARCH 1617

Pocahontas is buried, far from home

The young Native American woman is interred on the banks of the Thames

On a March day in 1617, a young woman was buried at a church in Kent, having died tragically young and a long way from home. The dead woman, who was only in her early twenties, was known as Pocahontas (also called Matoaka or Amonute) – and her story has captivated the imaginations of many into the modern age.

In 1614, Pocahontas – daughter of the chief of a Native American people of the Chesapeake Bay region in what's now Virginia – had married John Rolfe, a wealthy English tobacco merchant. Two years later, the couple – along with their infant son, Thomas – travelled to England to promote the success of their tobacco plantation. They were received at the court of King James VI & I, where they caused a sensation.

By March 1617, at the end of their London visit, Pocahontas was possibly already gravely unwell, and not keen to travel back to Virginia. As an observer wrote: "She is on her return though sore against her will, if the wind would come about to send them away."

It was planned that the family would sail from London on the *George*, belonging to Samuel Argall, deputy governor of Virginia. Before the ship set out on the long ocean voyage, it dropped anchor at Gravesend to gather supplies and fresh water. Here, Pocahontas was taken off the ship, dying or possibly already dead. Her body was laid to rest in the chancel of Saint George's Church – a superior place of burial usually reserved for clergy or high-standing parishioners.

The party continued its journey back to Virginia, leaving a small record of Pocahontas's burial in the parish register, in which she was recorded by her recently adopted Christian name: "March 21 – Rebecca Wrolfe, wyffe of Thomas Rolfe gent. A Virginian lady borne, was buried in ye chancel."

During her lifetime, Pocahontas had represented hope for a peaceful, collaborative future in North America. Her premature death symbolised the cruel fate that native peoples would meet at the hands of the colonisers.

A monument to the campaigner William Wilberforce. He played a key role in the slave trade's abolition

25 MARCH 1807

The slave trade is abolished in the British empire

After years of campaigning, the abolitionist movement celebrates a landmark win

The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act entered the statute books on 25 March 1807, making it illegal to trade enslaved people within the British colonies. The act – culmination of a decades-long struggle by abolitionists in Britain – ruled that, from 1 May 1807, "dealing and reading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves or of persons intending to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as slaves, practiced or carried in, at, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa shall be abolished, prohibited and declared to be unlawful".

The movement to abolish slavery had gained significant momentum over the previous 20 years. William Wilberforce, a philanthropist and politician from Yorkshire, led the clarion call to educate people across the nation about the inhumanity of the slave trade and its connection to sugar, produced in Caribbean plantations worked by enslaved peoples. George III was also opposed to the trade, writing that it was "equaly [sic] repugnant to the Civil Law as to the Law of Nature".

On 23 February 1807 the House of Commons debated the bill to abolish the trade, and voted it in with a majority of 283 votes to 16. Just over a month later, on 25 March, the king gave his assent for the act to be made law. This victory helped to end centuries of injustice and cruelty. H

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

Helen Carr is a historian, writer and producer. She is the author of *The Red Prince* (Oneworld, 2021), and co-author and editor of *What Is History, Now?* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2021)

WHY WE SHOULD REMEMBER...

The **first final of the FA Cup**, the oldest competition in world football

BY **DAVID GOLDBLATT**

What was the genesis of the FA Cup?
The Football Association (FA) was founded in 1863 but for the first eight years of existence its member clubs played only friendlies. Then, in 1871, its secretary, Charles Alcock – inspired by the knockout format of the inter-house football competition at his old school, Harrow, and by the Sheffield FA, which had launched the Youdan Cup in 1867 – proposed that the FA should launch its own Challenge Cup competition.

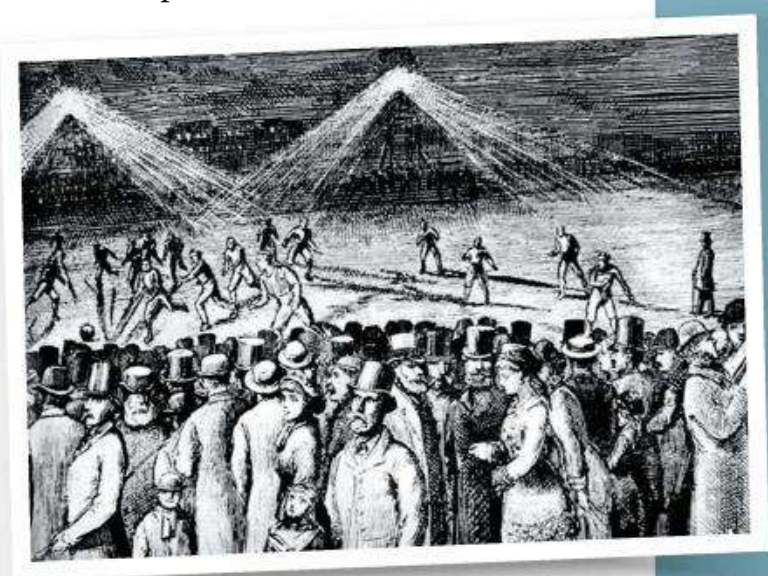
How did the first tournament play out?
Fifteen teams competed in the inaugural FA Challenge Cup tournament, kicking off in November 1871. One of the teams to reach the final was Wanderers Football Club (FC), founded as Forest FC in Leytonstone in 1859, one of many clubs created to allow public schoolboys to carry on playing after leaving school or university. Captained by Charles Alcock himself, Wanderers' route to the final included two walkover victories.

What happened during the final?
On 16 March 1872, 150 years ago, at the Kennington Oval in south London, Wanderers beat Royal Engineers 1–0. Ten minutes into the game, early drama was provided by the Engineers' forward Lieutenant Edmund Creswell who, charging on the Wanderers' goal, broke his collarbone. Five minutes later, Walpole Vidal – Wanderers' "Prince of the Dribble" – crossed the ball to Morton Betts, who scored the game's only goal.

What was the fans' reaction?
Just 2,000 spectators paid one shilling – considered by sporting broadsheet *Bell's Life* to be an "exorbitant sum" – to watch the game. Quite how this well-heeled crowd of family, friends and public schoolboy enthusiasts reacted was not recorded but, certainly, the sporting press of the day thought that they had been royally entertained. *The Field* magazine described the game in superlatives, calling it "the fastest and hardest match that has ever been seen at the Oval". *The Sportsman* was impressed with Lieutenant Creswell's valour, writing that: "Too much praise cannot be accorded to him for the pluck he showed in maintaining his post, although completely disabled and in severe pain, until the finish."

Why should we remember this match today?
The Wanderers went on to win three FA Cups in a row, and other upper-class clubs won in subsequent years. By the early 1880s, though, football fever engulfed the nation – and working-class teams from northern England began vying for the trophy.

The FA Cup is the oldest competition in world football, a model for national cup competitions across the globe, and is broadcast live to more than 100 countries. Though it carries just a fraction of the prize money offered by the English Premier League, it is still held in high regard – both because clubs from all tiers play together, and for keeping English football in touch with its deep historical roots. H



Some 2,000 spectators watch the first FA Cup final between Wanderers FC and Royal Engineers at the Kennington Oval in south London. Today, 40 times that number attend the event

David Goldblatt is the author of *The Game of Our Lives: The Meaning and Making of English Football* (Viking, 2014)

LETTERS

An illustration of Hereward the Wake. Reader Kees Slings comments on the rebel's Dutch adventures

LETTER OF THE MONTH

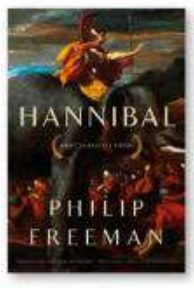
Defining moments

Reading *Talking Points* (February), I was reminded once again how the phrases "history" and "the past" are frequently conflated. This is a common misconception by many people, and often inflames the "rewriting history" debate.

Let's be clear: "the past" is everything that has happened before "the present". History (or histories), meanwhile, comprises stories about specific aspects of the past – events, people, periods and so on. Consequently, history will always be rewritten as our understanding of the past legitimately changes. This might be due to new sources coming to light to challenge our existing understanding, or as a result of studying familiar sources and drawing different conclusions from them. Furthermore, contemporary and future historians might ask different questions about the past or study it through a different lens, and thus generate new histories.

Of course, we have to be alert to "fake history", but there is no single version or history of the past. Peer review is the main method by which credible and less-credible or fake histories are signposted or exposed to the public. Your magazine's book review section is an ideal place to sort the "wheat from the chaff".

Simon Butler, Worcestershire



We reward the *Letter of the Month* writer with a copy of a new history book. This issue, that is **Hannibal: Rome's Greatest Enemy** by Philip Freeman. You can read our review of the book on page 85

A cultural loss

After reading Michael Wood's article arguing for the return of the Parthenon Sculptures (January), I felt saddened for the Greek people and for their loss of such historical and cultural items. But it made me think: what about Egyptian, Roman or Scandinavian antiquities? Are there coins from different countries and eras [in the British Museum]? What about museums elsewhere, such as in the Vatican or France? Who says what should stay and what should go? What about a painting by an Italian artist purchased by an American museum? When and where do we draw the line?

I do think the Elgin Marbles should be sent back to Greece. I'm sure this will never happen – or at least, not in my lifetime. But it should always be part of any negotiations between the two countries.

Linda Dowling, New York

Leading by example

I would be quite happy to acquiesce to Unesco's recent recommendation that the Marbles should be returned to Greece. It would be good to have them returned to their historical environment. If nothing else, we should be pleased that we have preserved them. If my quick trot through the history of Greece is accurate, then a lot has happened since the 1800s that could have seen them further damaged through national strife had they been left in among the Parthenon ruins. But now, in these comparatively stable times, they would be well looked after.

I like the suggestion of all nations returning their pieces, and the UK should lead the way, setting an example.

Craig Crosthwaite, Ayrshire

Digital display

Of course the Parthenon Sculptures should be given back, together with all other artefacts and curiosities, large or small, looted during the days of the British empire. Any stolen property should be returned to its rightful owner. (This should also include the Maori *mokomokai* [preserved heads] taken from New Zealand in the early 1800s.)

With the use of modern technology, sculptures and artefacts could be put on "virtual" display in a historical context in many different museums around the world. Thus they would become accessible to millions more people than at a single location. It would also help to overcome the limitation of global travel restrictions in force due to the coronavirus pandemic.

Kitty Monk, Auckland, New Zealand

Editor replies: Thanks to the many readers who shared their thoughts on Michael's column. For space reasons we're only able to print a small selection here, but hopefully they give an indication of the range of views that we've received.

Material history

Your reader's query about demob suits [civilian clothes given to servicemen at the end of the Second World War] (*Q&A*, December) sparked a memory or two. My father was in his early 30s in 1939 when he volunteered for service – his choice was the army. When he enlisted, he was given an IQ test and put into the surveyors branch of the Royal Engineers. I remember the day he left in 1941; I was three years old at the time.

He came home at the end of the war in his brand-new navy pinstripe suit, and for years afterward he regaled us with tales that made the war sound fun. It was only years later that I realised his time in Arnhem and Belgium had been death-defying rather than amusing.

The suit was kept for special occasions – weddings, funerals and family celebrations – after which it would be carefully pressed and hung back in the wardrobe. The last occasion I remember it appearing was my own wedding in 1959. From then on it became his gardening attire – they made them to last in those days!

My father was deservedly proud of his suit and his service to his country, and as a family we were immensely proud of him.

Thelma Pennington, Wrexham

Missed lessons?

I was surprised to see a letter from Colin Bullen in the January 2022 issue apparently criticising me for not believing in the value of studying history in my own letter from December 2021. This was not the case at all.

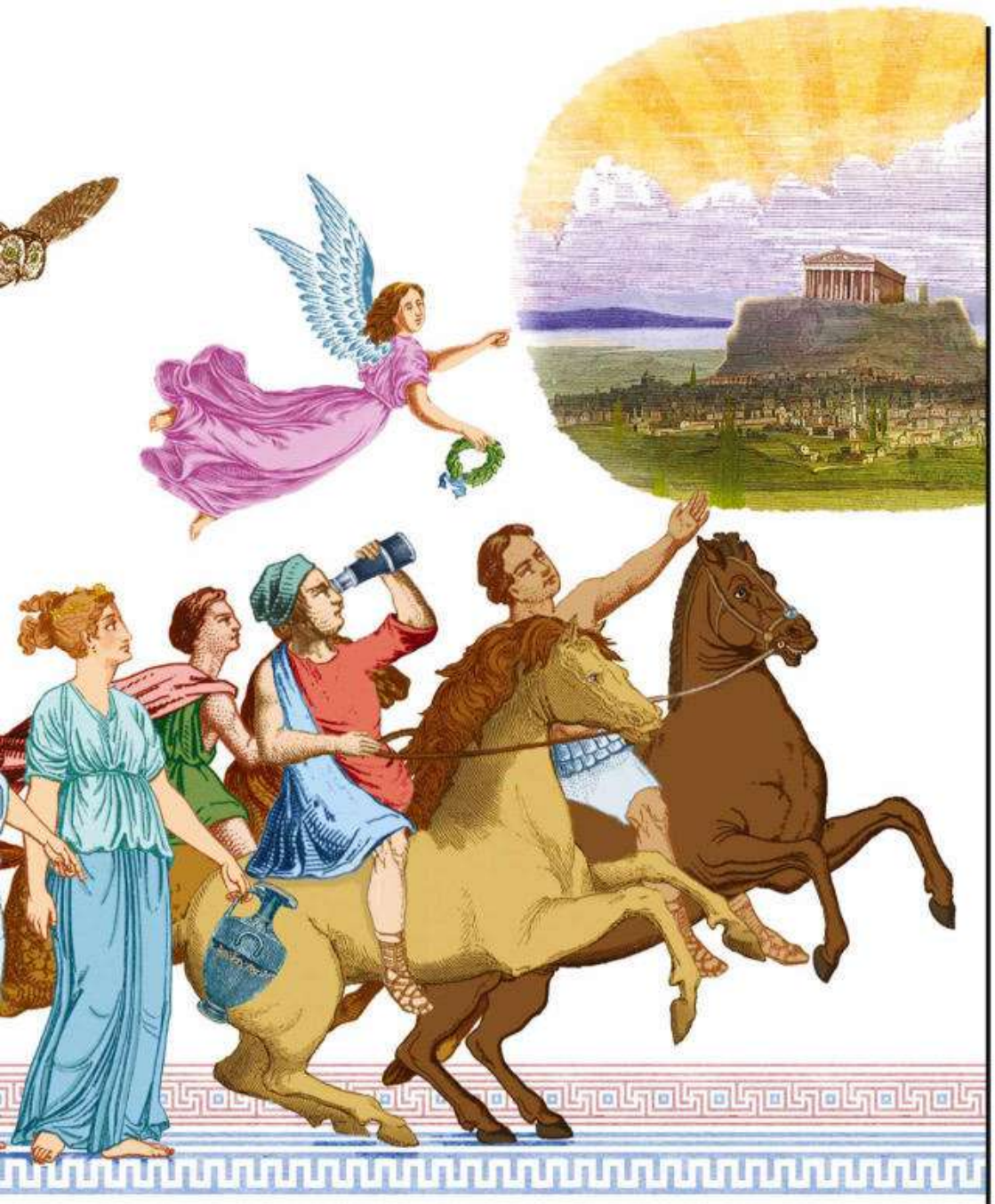
The point I was making, in reference to the article *What's the Future of Studying the Past* (October), was that we need better justifications for studying history. The article seemed to promote transferable skills and empathy as good reasons, and I believe that we should study history for its own sake, to learn from past events, and to be wiser when faced with similar situations now or in the future. I entirely understand and agree with Colin's points, but unfortunately he seems to have misunderstood mine.

Bob Bass, Nuneaton

Hereward was here

In your feature *Hereward the Wake: Nemesis of the Normans* (December), you

LAURIE AVON/IAN MORRIS



Femke de Jong's illustration of the themes of Michael Wood's column calling for the return of the Parthenon Sculptures to Greece. This piece has elicited a huge reader response

write that the location of Scaldemariland is unknown. It isn't. It is the ancient name for the current Dutch island of Walcheren between the Westerschelde (the river called Scalde) and the Easterschelde. It lies in the current province of Zeeland in the south-west of the Netherlands. Thus Scaldemariland meant "the sea land in the Schelde".

The famous Dutch historian Johan Huizinga has written a booklet about it in which Hereward figures prominently. It seems the inhabitants of the island had refused to pay their taxes to the Count of Flanders for a while and he sent his son Robert to resolve the problem. Robert took mercenary Hereward as his chief warrior, and he succeeded in persuading them to be more forthcoming in future. Huizinga puts the campaign between 1063 and 1068.

Kees Slings, Haarlem, Netherlands

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FEMKE DE JONG

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› Page 72

What drove the **witch-**

Plumbing the depths
Suspected witch Mary Sutton is "swum" in a Bedfordshire millpond in 1612, as shown in a contemporary illustration. It was widely believed that, when subjected to a water test, anti-Christian witches would float. Sutton floated "like a plank" and was hanged

GETTY IMAGES – COLOURISATION BY MR JOHN GALLAGHER

Complements the new series **The Witchfinder** which is due to air in March on BBC Two

BBC TWO

They tortured, tricked and terrorised suspects into confessions – often with undisguised relish. So, asks **Marion Gibson**, should the witchfinders of 16th and 17th-century Europe be dismissed as sadists and charlatans?

hunters' cruel crusade?

Once every six weeks during the winter of 1644, a young man from Manningtree in Essex woke up in terror in the night. It was always on a Friday, and his terror quickly turned to irritation. Somewhere outside, he could hear people talking. He began to listen carefully, and one night he heard a female voice speaking about her familiar spirits – devils in animal form. Clearly a "horrible sect of witches" was active in Manningtree. This must be, the young man thought, "their meeting", and they must be holding "solemn sacrifices there offered to the devil".

The man listened as the Friday night reveller told her pet spirits that they must go to the house of Bess Clarke, who lived close by. Bess Clarke was already suspected of witchcraft by several townspeople as well as by the wakeful young man. And in March 1644 she was arrested by the local magistrate after these accusers reported her to him as a witch.

It was decided that the best way to obtain a confession from Clarke was to "keep her from sleep two or three nights" by walking her up and down, and employ a team of people to watch her. And on the fourth night, when the young man dropped by the holding cell, Clarke was worn out. She had become suggestible, desperate to get some rest. She told the young man that if only they could all sit down she would call her spirits. She had "had carnal copulation with the devil", she announced, and she proceeded to tell her watchers that her demonic spirits were entering the room: a kitten, a spaniel, a greyhound, a rabbit and a polecat.

Later, the young man, Matthew Hopkins (pictured above), would write about that strange night and explain how cleverly he had induced Clarke to reveal her crimes (for which she was tried at Chelmsford assizes, and hanged). With this success behind him, Hopkins began a two-year career as a witchfinder that saw more than 200 people hanged across seven English counties. By the end of this tour of terror, he would be known as the "Witchfinder General".

Kramer was fixated by the link between witchcraft and women's sex lives, and became obsessed with searching suspects' bodies

Amateur sleuths

The word "witchfinder" sounds like a formal job title, particularly when it's capitalised – as it often is in stories of Matthew Hopkins. But although he did bear that memorable nickname, it was just that: a nickname, a handle. Hopkins was a self-appointed witchfinder – an amateur sleuth rather than a professional law enforcer, churchman or a military appointee. He was a private citizen who had become concerned that there were witches operating in his town. He decided to take action and reported their crimes to the authorities. Unusually, however, he was then permitted to get involved in watching and questioning the accused and he built his reputation on the confession he extracted from Bess Clarke.

Later, Hopkins went on to use the persuasive interrogation techniques of walking and watching on many other suspects, free of any official oversight. This kind of amateur, free-ranging detective work – obsessive, bullying and with a whiff of dishonesty and delusion about it – is what people usually think of when they hear the word "witchfinder".

However, the idea of witchfinding has more professional roots. These reach back into the Inquisition of medieval Europe. In the 15th century, men like the German monk Heinrich Kramer were formally tasked by their employer, the Catholic church, with questioning suspected heretics. These suspects included both other clerics and ordinary villagers who were accused of holding unusual religious views. And among the heretics who were summoned before them, some Inquisitors identified people whom they thought were witches. These were people who seemed to have some knowledge of magic and demonic spirits, and who also appeared to belong to communities of like-minded individuals.

The suspicion grew among Inquisitors that there was an organised conspiracy of witches meeting in secret to undermine true religion. Heinrich Kramer and other Inquisitors extracted confessions from them, and documented the witches' supposed activities in books known as demonologies. These were essentially manuals for official witchfinding.

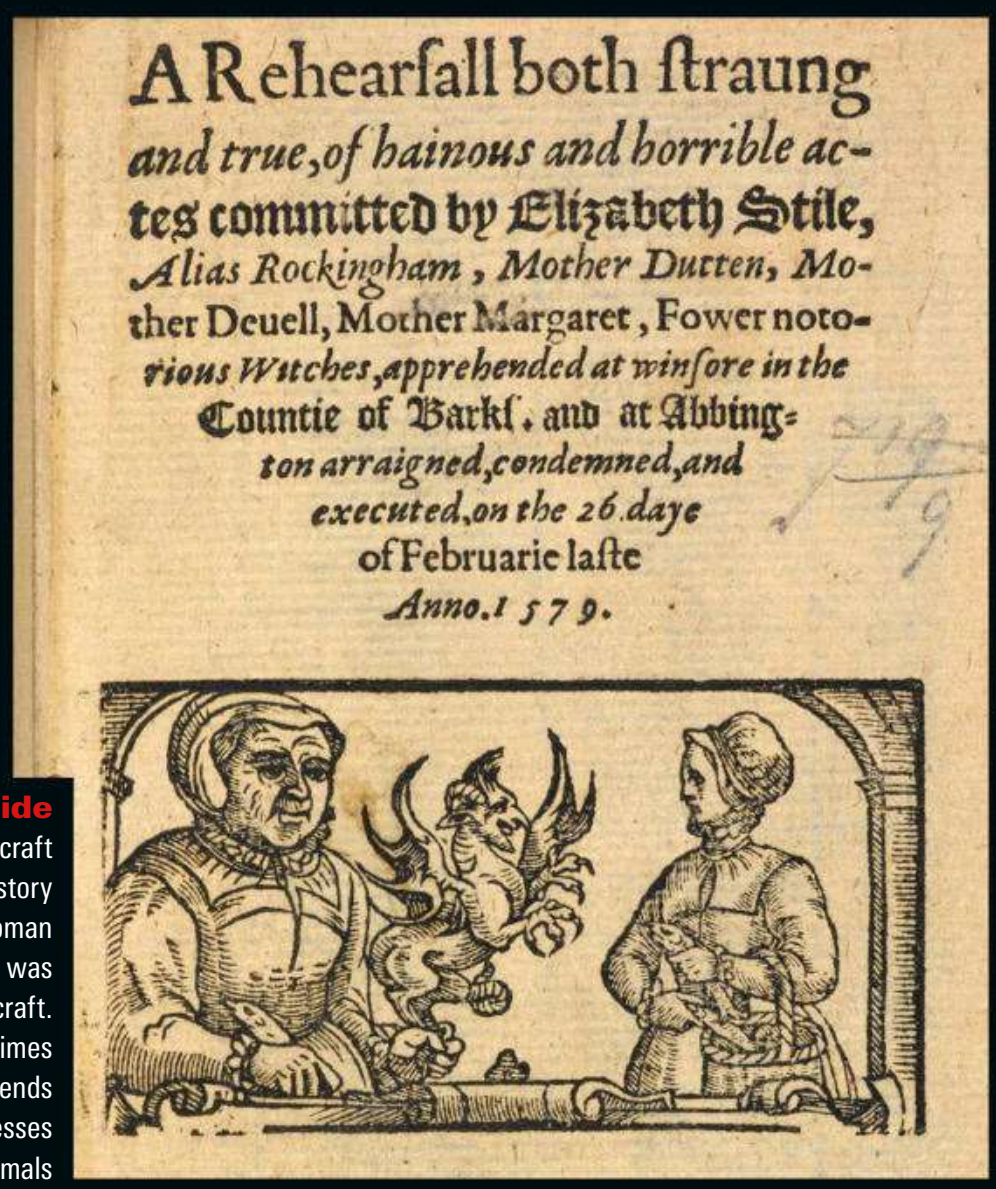
Kramer was especially interested in links between witchcraft and women's sex lives. He would ask each female suspect gently "where she was born and raised", and then proceeded to get more personal. He moved from discussions "regarding her way of life" – a good life, would she say, or bad? – to sharp, embarrassing demands for information "about her virginity and other secret matters". The women he questioned across Germany and Austria in the 1480s reacted with disgust, and when they were rendered thoroughly

Dark tidings

Malleus Maleficarum, the German monk Heinrich Kramer's infamous 1486 treatise on witchcraft, which helped spark the witch-hunting craze that swept Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries

ALAMY

Malevolent power An illustration showing a witch causing havoc in the c16th century. Under the Tudors, witchfinding was moved from the jurisdiction of churchmen to the secular, criminal courts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and true, of hainous and horrible ac-
tes committed by Elizabeth Stile,
Alias Rockingham, Mother Dutten, Mo-
ther Deuell, Mother Margaret, Fower noto-
rious Witches, apprehended at winſore in the
Countie of Barkſ. and at Abbing-
ton arraigned, condemned, and
executed, on the 26. daye
of Februarie laſte
Anno. 1579.

Beast inside A 1579 witchcraft pamphlet tells the story of Windsor woman Elizabeth Stile, who was accused of witchcraft. Stile's alleged crimes included keeping fiends in the likenesses of animals

BRIDGEMAN

vulnerable by shame, Kramer had them stripped and tortured on the rack until they admitted they were satanic conspirators.

Kramer became obsessed with searching female bodies for charms thought to keep witches from confessing, and with identifying witchcraft aimed against powerful men – knights, archdukes and even Inquisitors. However, his activities caused concern. People began to say that he "preached nothing except against witches" and "seems to me to be crazy". Inquisitors like Kramer had turned an official role, one that was meant to be investigating all kinds of heresy, into a perverted personal crusade: the Inquisitor had become a witchfinder.

Trials by jury

During the 15th century, witchfinding spread across Europe and reached Britain and Ireland. There were witchcraft trials in medieval Ireland, England and Scotland in church and royal courts. In the mid-16th century it was decided that local government officers' roles in Britain should include an element of witchfinding.

Witchcraft was defined as a felony, a serious crime, under parliamentary acts of 1542, 1563 and 1604, which moved it from the jurisdiction of churchmen into the secular, criminal courts. This meant that local magistrates (justices of the peace or, in Scotland, baillies) were expected to investigate

alleged witches and send them for trial by jury. These witchfinders were officials of the Tudor and Stuart state. But their witchfinding was part of a range of other crime-fighting activities. They were also involved in investigating theft, murder, reports of vagrants and con-artists travelling through their districts.

These witchfinders are less famous than their amateur colleagues like Matthew Hopkins, because instead of being obsessive specialists, they were general law-enforcers who had to deal with all types of reported crime. Witchcraft was only one aspect of their work – just like it was supposed to be for continental European Inquisitors.

A daughter's betrayal

Like some Inquisitors, however, a few magistrates did go beyond their brief: they pursued witches avidly. In the early 1580s, English magistrate Brian Darcy read a demonology written by the French lawyer Jean Bodin, and tried out some of its recommendations on suspects. Bodin suggested that magistrates start their investigations by questioning child witnesses. "Arrest the witches' young daughters," he advised. So, during a witch-hunt in 1582, Darcy questioned at least five children aged between six and ten about their parents' supposed crimes. Eight-year-old Phoebe Hunt said her mother Alice had "two little things like horses" which she fed "out of a black treening [wooden] dish". Darcy searched the Hunt family's home for such an item: wooden dishes were common homewares. Then he asked Alice Hunt whether she had fed spirits out of "a little treening dish". When she said "no", he whipped out the dish in a dramatic reveal, as if it proved her a liar. It was a classic witchfinder move. In this case, torture wasn't permitted, but it wasn't needed: desolated by her daughter's unwitting betrayal, Alice Hunt confessed.

Darcy may have been no gentleman, but not all witchfinders were male and not all were wealthy, powerful people either. Witchfinding was one of the few authoritative roles available to women in early modern Britain. They took on the role of searchers, inspecting the bodies of female suspects for physical evidence of witchcraft. In Britain, it was

Witchfinding was one of the few authoritative roles available to women in early modern Britain

TRICKS OF THE WITCH-HUNTERS' TRADE

Six tactics that were deployed to secure a conviction

1 Sleep-deprivation

Some witchfinders kept suspects pacing up and down during their interrogations, refusing them rest and sleep. It was rightly believed that this fatiguing technique was a way to break down mental coherence, and wrongly believed that it would access the truth. While Matthew Hopkins is often credited with inventing this technique for his interrogation of Bess Clarke, he stated that it was approved and perhaps suggested by local magistrates. He was also assisted by a team of watchers, although a contemporary woodcut (below) shows him as the heroic, lone "Witchfinder General".

Today sleep deprivation is categorised as either "inhumane and degrading treatment" or as a form of torture. It reliably produces exhaustion, confusion and compliance.

2 The strip-search

Suspected witches would be stripped naked so that witchfinders could examine their bodies forensically. Nothing could be concealed by clothing, and no jewellery was allowed to remain: it might mask a witch mark or teat or contain a charm to stop the suspect from confessing.

Male witchfinders would examine male suspects (in England, around 1 in 10 suspects were men), but women were employed to search women. They would pay particular attention to suspects' genitalia, where a mark might easily be concealed. Sometimes suspects were shaved to allow closer inspection.

Female searchers were respected wives and mothers, the kind of women who assisted at births. They might be paid for their work, but perhaps more importantly they were convinced that they knew what was medically normal about the female body.

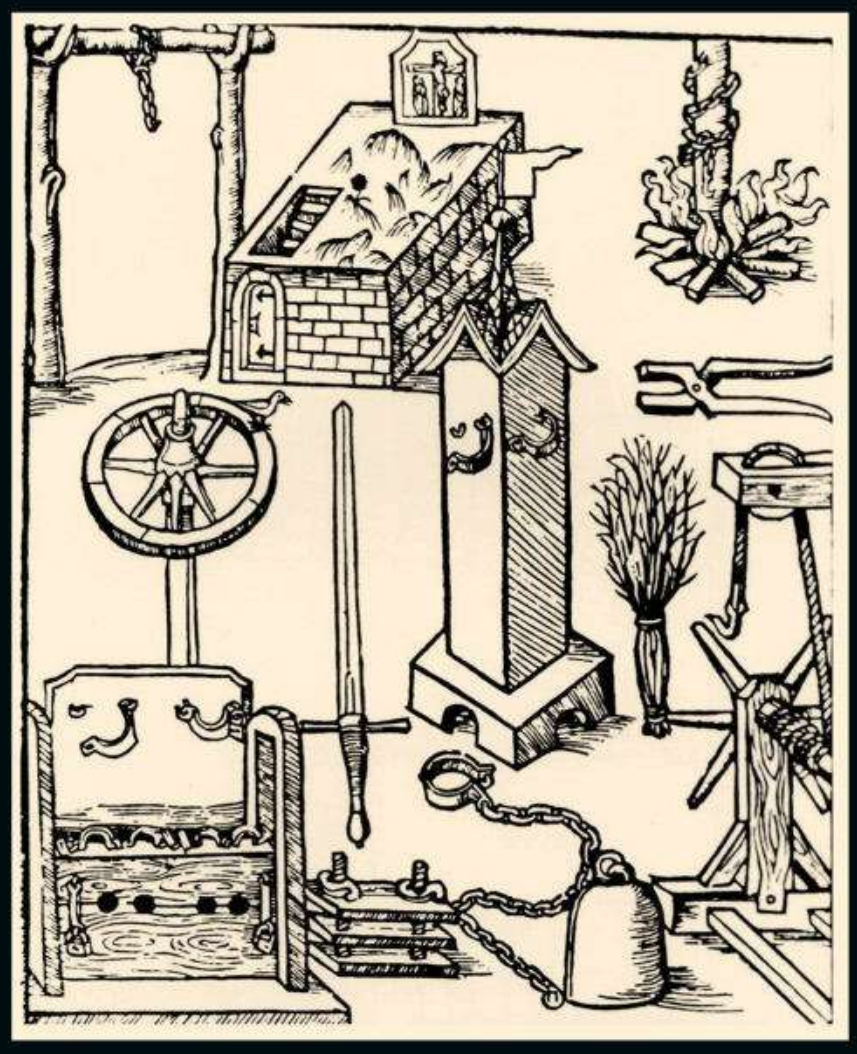
In this woodcut from 1647, the witchfinder Matthew Hopkins stands in a room with two women, including the accused witch Bess Clarke, left. Clarke is saying "Holt", the name of her kitten familiar. Her other familiars are Jarmara (a spaniel), Sacke and Sugar (rabbits), Newes (a polecat) and Vinegar Tom (a greyhound with an ox head – a portrayal based on the allegations of a witness)

GETTY IMAGES

3 Instruments of torture

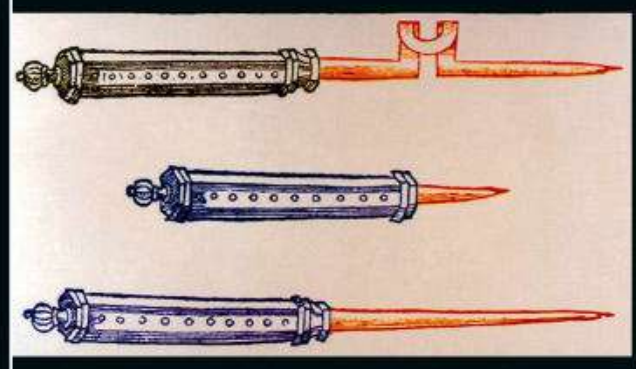
The torture of witchcraft suspects was not officially permitted in British law codes. But where suspected witchcraft overlapped with accusations of treason or heresy, witches were tortured with impunity. During the interrogation of supposedly traitorous suspects in 1591, the Scottish king James VI (the future James I of England) oversaw their torture by several methods. The accused witch Agnes Sampson had her head bound with a rope that was then tightened progressively. Her supposed co-conspirator John Fian had his legs crushed by a contraption consisting of metal sheaths and wedges hammered in with mallets.

Also available to official European witchfinders such as Inquisitors were specially built torture instruments such as the rack, designed to extract the truth from suspects by straining and dislocating their joints.



Devices used to torture suspects in the Bamberg witch trials of 1626–31, which saw hundreds of people burned at the stake

TOPFOTO/ALAMY



Pricking tools used to locate insensible spots on witches' skin. Some tools had retractable blades, which meant that witchfinders could pretend the blade had pricked the skin when it hadn't

5 Pricking the skin

Witches were thought to have insensible spots on their bodies where the devil had marked them, a belief that was strong in Scotland. Satan was believed to make pacts with his witch servants, promising them power in return for their soul and also guaranteeing immunity from confession. If witchfinders could locate a numbed mark that was apparently insensible to pain, it was a sign the suspect was a witch and was hoping to resist torture.

Less sensitive and/or bloodless spots are actually quite common on the body, because of unequal distribution of nerves. But witch-prickers could also potentially cheat with retractable needles or sleight of hand. They were paid for their work – which was potentially a motivation for securing a conviction through deceit – but some no doubt believed in their own skill.

4 Acts of deception

Physical torture was not necessary to get witchcraft suspects to confess. Some demonologists prescribed pressurising forms of questioning instead. A specialist questioner, they argued, would be able to get to the truth by leading and tricking the suspect.

Questioning underage children helped loosen their parents' tongues. Some witch-hunters lulled suspects into a false sense of security by telling them outright lies. The magistrate Brian Darcy recorded proudly how he had hoodwinked two suspects, Ursula Kemp and Elizabeth Bennett, in 1582. He told Bennett that "they which do confess the truth of their doings, they shall have much favour: but the other they shall be burnt and hanged". Both women fell for his lies and were executed.

A woodcut shows a woman being hanged for witchcraft in the 17th century. Some witchfinders used outright lies to send suspects to the gallows

6 Swimming the suspects

Some theologians believed that, because Christians were baptised in water, anti-Christian witches would float. To test suspects' guilt, witchfinders put them through the "water test". Drowning was not the intended outcome – however, it was an obvious risk, which is why some suspects were roped to their persecutors on the shore.

Among those swum was the Bedfordshire woman Mary Sutton in 1612 (shown below). That same year, Northamptonshire residents Arthur Bill and his (unnamed) mother and father endured a similar fate. "The justices," we're told, "caused them all to be bound, and their thumbs and great toes to be tied across, and so threw the father, mother and son, and none of them sunk, but all floated."

Cooking up a storm The North Berwick witches meet the devil, as shown in a contemporary pamphlet. In the early 1590s, a number of suspected witches from several Scottish towns were tortured and executed after being accused of attempting to sink King James VI's ship on a voyage between Denmark and Scotland

thought improper for men to do this job.

Matthew Hopkins worked with two such female searchers – Frances Mills and Mary Phillips – both of whom travelled with him and gave evidence against women they had searched. In one episode, Mills was employed to search a suspected witch called Margaret Moone, upon whom "she found three long teats… in her secret parts". These were thought to be nipples where animal familiars had sucked blood from witches, rewarding the familiars for the harm they did.

Mills and Phillips concurred that, during their investigations, Moone had tried to attack them magically and verbally. Phillips had fallen into a ditch as she entered Moone's village, and she said that when she and Mills arrived, Moone called them "rogues", shouting "who the devil sent for you?" Female witchfinders faced accusations of unsisterly betrayal, but working with male witchfinders brought them uncommon power.

Loathsome behaviour?

If no one else was available to search female suspects, random women would be invited to do it: in this way, anyone who happened to be called in – as if for jury service – could become a witchfinder. In 1621 at the Old Bailey trial of the accused witch Elizabeth Sawyer, the searchers who were employed were two "grave matrons, brought in by the Officer out of the street, passing by there by chance" and a woman named Margaret Weaver who was the housekeeper of the Old Bailey judicial complex. The suspected witch was appalled when she found she was to be strip-searched and "behaved herself most sluttishly and loathsomely towards them, intending thereby to prevent their search of her". However, the three searchers were determined: "According to the request of the court, and to that trust reposed in them by the bench, they all three severally searched her." All gave evidence that she had a teat on her body, just above her anus. The indignity of this examination helped to break down the suspect, who confessed.

Demonic being
A hedgehog familiar, as shown in an account of the Chelmsford witch trials of 1579. Such animals were believed to suck blood from witches' teats

Not all witchfinders were charlatans. Some attempted to establish scientific proof of guilt

In Scotland, both men and women worked as witchfinding "prickers". This method of detecting witches involved stabbing them with a pin to check whether any areas of their body were insensible to pain. Like the teats found by Frances Mills, these numb areas were thought to be demonic marks. At least 10 prickers operated in Scotland across the 17th century, the most notorious of whom was a woman, Christian Caddell. Caddell dressed as a man and was employed by the local baillie to prick suspects in Elgin in 1662. Six people were executed on her evidence, although she herself was eventually accused of fraud.

Other methods of sorting the innocent from the guilty were also used across Britain. The "swimming test" saw suspects thrown into water. Their left big toe was bound to their right thumb, and their right big toe to their left thumb. Ropes were attached to their waist to drag them out of the water when the test was complete. If suspects sank, they were innocent and were hauled out, gasping, cold and terrified. (A few people drowned during the test.) And, famously, if a suspect floated, she or he was thought to be guilty because water, associated with Christian baptism, had miraculously rejected them. They were then sent for formal trial – but their terrible experiences had softened them up for confession.

The fact that professional and amateur witchfinders sought what they saw as reliable tests for witchcraft shows that, contrary to popular belief, they were not always charlatans, sadists or wholly delusional. Many worked rationally and in good faith, believing themselves to be godly detectives or medical examiners, ridding their communities of criminals by attempting scientific proof of guilt.

While witchfinding did certainly attract cruel obsessives, it was also seen as public service. But despite the variety of their approaches and techniques, all witchfinders posed a terrifying threat to those people who were unlucky enough to be suspected of witchcraft. H

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ON THE HISTORY EXTRA PODCAST

Marion Gibson is professor of Renaissance and magical literatures at the University of Exeter. She appeared on our recent podcast series on the Salem witch trials and will be back on the podcast soon to discuss witchfinders: *historyextra.com/podcast*

WATCH Look out for the comedy series **The Witchfinder** – starring Tim Key and Daisy May Cooper – which is due to air on BBC Two in early March

BBC TWO

Two worlds collide
US president Richard Nixon (centre) and secretary of state William Rogers (right) at the Great Wall of China during their groundbreaking visit in February 1972

"THE WEEK THAT CHANGED THE WORLD"

Following years of icy silence between the US and China, on 21 February 1972 president Richard Nixon arrived in Beijing for an unprecedented diplomatic mission. **Rana Mitter** explores how the two sides viewed an encounter that augured China's entrance onto the global stage

GETTY IMAGES/DREAMSTIME

In the spirit
Richard Nixon and his wife, Pat, step from the presidential plane, 21 February 1972. The president's wish that he be greeted by crowds of cheering people was unrealised

The moment has been immortalised in music – and a breathtaking piece of stagecraft. In the opening scene of the 1987 opera *Nixon in China* the presidential plane, named "The Spirit of '76", lands onstage. The door opens and out steps the singer playing US president Richard Nixon, greeted by another as Chinese premier Zhou Enlai.

When John Adams and Alice Goodman wrote *Nixon in China*, just a decade and a half after the events it depicted, they recognised that the meeting it recreated was the stuff of grand opera. Rather than merely two politicians coming face to face, it marked the end of one era and the beginning of a new one – the moment when two great societies with very different systems finally engaged with each other after decades of silence.

This year marks a half-century since Nixon's visit. Between 21 and 28 February 1972, he met the ageing Mao Zedong, China's paramount leader, and negotiated the first stages of the rapprochement between two countries that had no diplomatic ties in 1949, following Mao's communist revolution.

For Nixon, the mission came at a time when the complex problems of the Cold War were becoming more pressing. He had come to office in 1969 with impeccable qualifications as a Cold Warrior, having made his name as Eisenhower's vice-president in the 1950s, sent out to do rhetorical battle with the Soviet Union. Yet as president he faced a range of difficulties. The US was in flames, its cities riven with unrest. Overseas, his country was caught in the murderous quagmire of the Vietnam War, unable to defeat its opponents or to withdraw honourably. Nixon had been elected in part because he claimed to have a plan to end that war.

Meanwhile, friction with the Soviet bloc was building. In August 1968, months before Nixon was first elected president, Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia to snuff out the "Prague Spring" period of political liberalisation.

Nixon certainly hoped that he could reduce tensions in these hotspots for the US through a policy of detente. And his subsequent efforts to improve relations with China provided an opportunity for a dramatic turn of events that would signal an entirely new sort of diplomacy.

Remote rapprochement

US politicians of both parties had mooted a thaw with Beijing in the mid-1960s. However, the outbreak of the violent Cultural Revolution in 1966, during which China dramatically scaled back diplomatic relations with almost all outside powers, left little possibility of a rapprochement under Nixon's predecessor, Lyndon Johnson. Over the following years, the Chinese leadership seemed to be in turmoil. Mao was old, and it was increasingly unclear who would succeed him.

Yet, even in his first weeks and months in office, Nixon began to set in motion the launch of a new policy – albeit discreetly at first. The new US national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, was given the task of organising the first visit to China by a US official since the 1949 revolution. In 1971, following mediation by Pakistan, Kissinger flew secretly to Beijing for talks. And on 15 July 1971, Nixon announced his planned trip.

It was the moment when two great societies with very different systems finally engaged with each other after decades of silence

Nixon had hoped that, on landing in Beijing on 21 February 1972, he would be greeted by crowds of cheering Chinese people. In fact, he had to make do with a small honour guard – but the significance of the moment was cemented when he shook Zhou's hand. At a conference in Geneva 18 years earlier, Zhou's attempt to shake the hand of then US secretary of state John Foster Dulles had been snubbed. Now Nixon made amends.

Nixon's party was driven through the city centre to meet Mao, who was in jovial mood. The communist leader observed that "reactionaries" had tried to stop the meeting – a reference to figures within China's leadership who were still firmly opposed to opening up to the imperialist enemy. (Mao also noted slyly that he had "voted" for Nixon in the US election, explaining that he found rightwing leaders easier to deal with.)

After Mao's one and only appearance during the trip, the negotiators spent long hours in meetings to hammer out an agreement. Between those discussions, the visitors were given the VIP tourist treatment. Nixon was famously impressed by the Great Wall, and used it as a metaphor for barriers that could soon fall in the relationship between China and the US. Meanwhile, the first lady visited institutions including schools and factories, providing priceless photo opportunities to boost her husband's campaign for re-election that year.

At the end of the trip, the two sides issued the Shanghai Communique, pledging to improve relations between the countries. Richard Nixon was in no doubt about the significance of what he had negotiated. "This," he declared, "was the week that changed the world."

›› Turn the page to compare US and Chinese views of the historic meeting and discover how it shaped their future relations

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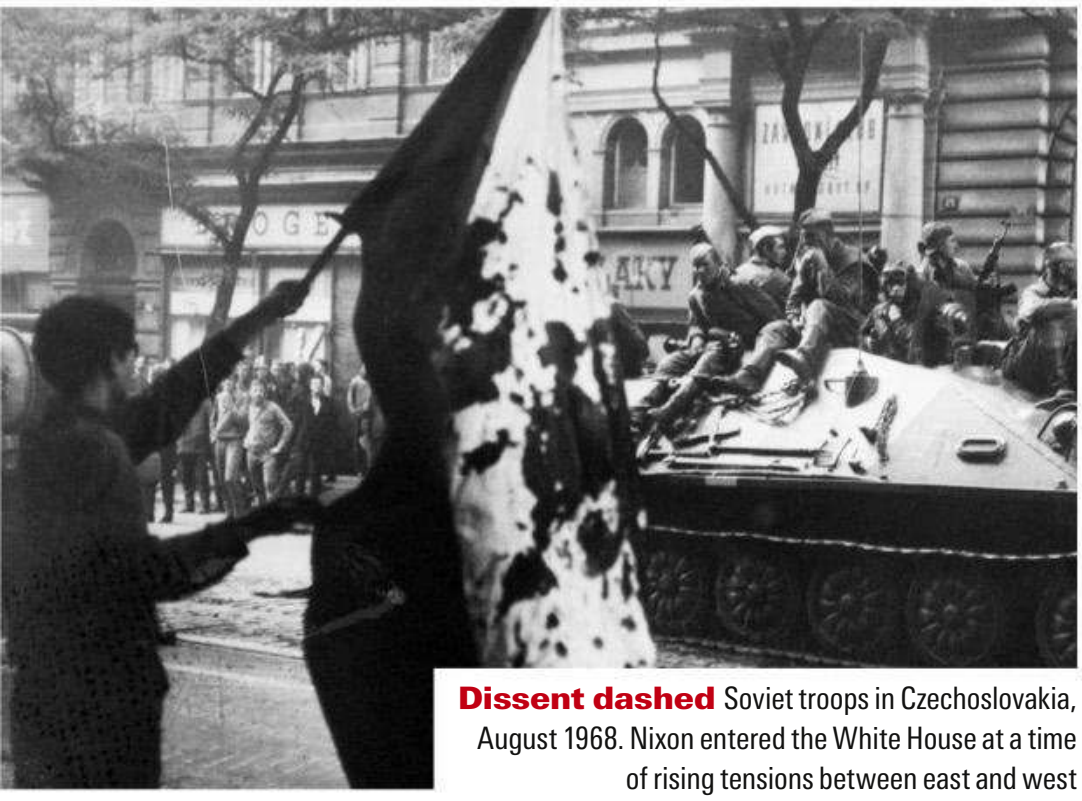

Dissent dashed Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, August 1968. Nixon entered the White House at a time of rising tensions between east and west

War without end Female soldiers of the People's Army of Vietnam operate howitzers, c1965. By then, US forces were mired in an unwinnable war in the region

First lady photo op Pat Nixon meets a Chinese woman during the 1972 visit. Such images were useful for her husband's re-election campaign

THE US PERSPECTIVE

"The visit burnished Nixon's image at home – but not for long"

The immediate reaction in the US was highly favourable. Nixon had hoped to make a major gesture of statesmanship ahead of the 1972 presidential election (about which the Chinese were very aware), and his visit to China fulfilled that aim to the letter. Nixon won by a landslide and, though the China visit was not the only reason, it certainly burnished his image. Nixon and his national security adviser (later secretary of state) Henry Kissinger took advantage of the new warmth with China to introduce other strategies to lessen tension in the Cold War – notably, the ending of the draft of US soldiers for the war in Vietnam, and a policy of detente with the Soviet Union.

Protracted negotiation

Nixon's China mission is often regarded as the culmination of a process, and the end of the rift between the US and China. In truth, it was the beginning of a more protracted negotiation. Full diplomatic ties would not actually be confirmed for almost seven years; indeed, during the early and mid-1970s, much of the most visible interaction was cultural rather than political. The most famous manifestation of this was "ping-pong diplomacy", the exhibition table tennis matches played in China and the US in the months before and after Nixon's visit.

Nixon himself had little time to develop the diplomatic opening, resigning in 1974 after the Watergate scandal exposed the darker side of his administration. His successor, Gerald Ford, visited China and tasked secretary of state Henry Kissinger with further nurturing relations. However, there were various stumbling blocks – among the most sensitive of which was Taiwan.

In 1949, at the end of China's civil war, the defeated Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek had fled to Taiwan, where they declared themselves the official government of all China. Despite controlling only Taiwan's main island and a few offshore territories, Chiang's government retained the Chinese seat at the United Nations until 1971. By the mid-1970s, it was clear that the US was moving toward recognition of Beijing, but Chiang's island was a sticking point: China's communist leaders wanted Washington to abandon his regime completely. Yet even if the administrations of Ford and his successor, Jimmy Carter, had wanted to concede this matter, there were still powerful forces in Congress who demanded that the US should permit Taiwan the capacity to defend itself.

The Carter administration eventually negotiated the opening of formal diplomatic relations with China on 1 January 1979. This was dependent on the agreement in the US of a "One China" policy – though without specifying whether the rule of Beijing or Taipei over that "One China" should ultimately prevail. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, governing America's relationship with that diplomatically unrecognised but important island, decreeing that the US should give Taiwan assistance to enable it to defend itself. To the anger of Beijing, that act is still very much in operation today.

Rival regime Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Nationalist government in Taipei, pictured in 1970. American support for Taiwan's right and ability to defend itself has long been a sticking point in relations between China and the US

Friends or foes? Mao Zedong greets US secretary of state Henry Kissinger (right) in Beijing in 1975, as president Gerald Ford looks on

Unfamiliar feast Richard Nixon, sitting alongside Chinese premier Zhou Enlai (left), peers uncertainly at a morsel during a Beijing reception in 1972. Cultural exchanges between the countries may have been just as important as political ones

GETTY IMAGES/TOPFOTO

Rather than the end of the rift between the US and China, Nixon's visit was the beginning of a protracted negotiation

THE CHINESE PERSPECTIVE

"China wasn't on an inevitable path to superpower status"

Nixon's visit did not take place at a quiet time for Chinese politics. In 1972, China was still firmly in the middle of the Cultural Revolution, and there were clear divisions about the significance of the Nixon visit.

One faction, led by premier Zhou Enlai, had come to realise that China's inward-looking take on economics and culture was not sustainable; they believed that the country would have to reform if the CCP was to stay in power. A world in which China was isolated both from the Soviet bloc and the western world was unsustainable and, since relations with Moscow continued to be scratchy following China's denunciation of Soviet policy from the late 1950s, a pivot towards the huge market that the US offered was a logical step for an economy aiming to re-enter the world of international trade.

That view was firmly opposed by the Cultural Revolution hardliners, most notably the leaders later dubbed the "Gang of Four", including Mao's wife, Jiang Qing. They regarded ideological purity as the most important element of China's politics, so the idea of opening up to the capitalist US proposed by "running dogs" (lackeys) was anathema.

During Nixon's visit, the faction in favour of opening up was in the ascendant, and Jiang Qing even greeted the Americans. But on the evening before the Shanghai Communique was released, Zhang Chunqiao – one of the Gang of Four – made a speech at the banquet for Nixon's party, declaring that Shanghai was "maintaining independence" and "relying on our own efforts". It was a not particularly subtle reminder that not all of the Chinese leadership was happy to see the US president enter the world's most populous communist state.

In retrospect, it sometimes seems as if China was on an inevitable path to economic superpower status after Nixon's visit opened up the country. In fact, the years that followed were turbulent. In 1973, Zhou's enemies launched a campaign obliquely criticising his willingness to open up to the US. By then, he was dying of cancer, passing away just a few months before Mao in 1976. Shortly afterwards, Zhou's protege Deng Xiaoping was sidelined by the Gang of Four.

Mao's successor, Hua Guofeng, rapidly moved to have the Gang of Four arrested, and the Cultural Revolution was declared over. The next year, 1977, writers and artists were allowed to produce accounts of the horrors they had suffered during the worst years of the Cultural Revolution.

By July of that year, Deng had used his formidable political network to return to power. From 1978, he began implementing major market-oriented reforms and pushed forward with efforts to improve relations with the US. In 1979, following Carter's recognition of China, he also broke with precedent and travelled to the US – a visit epitomised by a moment in Texas when the diminutive Deng donned a large Stetson hat. The US-China relationship may have been secured diplomatically with the establishment of embassies earlier that year, but the emotional relationship was sealed at that rodeo, signalling a decade of closer ties.

Liberalising culture

During the 1980s, the relationship between the US and China was the warmest it had been since the latter's communist revolution. American writers and intellectuals were invited to share their ideas to help influence China's new, liberalising culture. That decade was also the era of Reagan's confident US, as well as a sclerosis that augured the ultimate end of the Soviet Union and Europe's communist eastern bloc.

China wanted access to the US market, and was keen to benefit from the sense of possibility that it saw in New York and California. Despite their communist links, the Chinese saw little to tempt them in the Soviet world of Brezhnev and his successors, who were mired in a war in Afghanistan and whose eastern European allies such as Poland were increasingly afflicted by strikes and economic woes.

In one of the most remarkable gestures of affinity, the 1988 television programme *River Elegy*, broadcast to millions of Chinese viewers, proudly showcased icons of American life including the Statue of Liberty. This wave of almost naive pro-Americanism came crashing to a halt with the 1989 massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in and around Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

Yet despite that bloody crackdown, recent evidence reveals that president George Bush sent national security adviser Brent Scowcroft to visit Deng Xiaoping in secret just a month after the killings, to assure China that the US still wanted to keep the relationship alive. The tradition of angry rhetoric on the surface but an understanding about shared interests in private – evident in the Nixon-Kissinger visit of 1972 – was still very much alive.

Is that still true today? The jury is out. The US and China are now clear rivals, rather than the "frenemies" they became during the Nixon era. In July 2020 Mike Pompeo, then US secretary of state, declared that the "noble" policies Nixon had attempted to implement in relations with China had failed, and that the US must now treat China as a hostile power. That visit of 1972 remains a moment of historic importance – but its significance seems very different today from how it did in that cold February week in Beijing, half a century ago. H

Rana Mitter is professor of the history and politics of modern China at the University of Oxford, and presenter of *Archive on 4: The Great Wall*, examining US-China relations since the Nixon visit. Listen at BBC Sounds: *bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0013hb1*

Gang flank Richard Nixon sits between Zhou Enlai and Jiang Qiang, Mao Zedong's wife and a leader of the "Gang of Four", who opposed China opening up to the capitalist US

The US and China are now clear rivals, rather than the "frenemies" they became during the Nixon era

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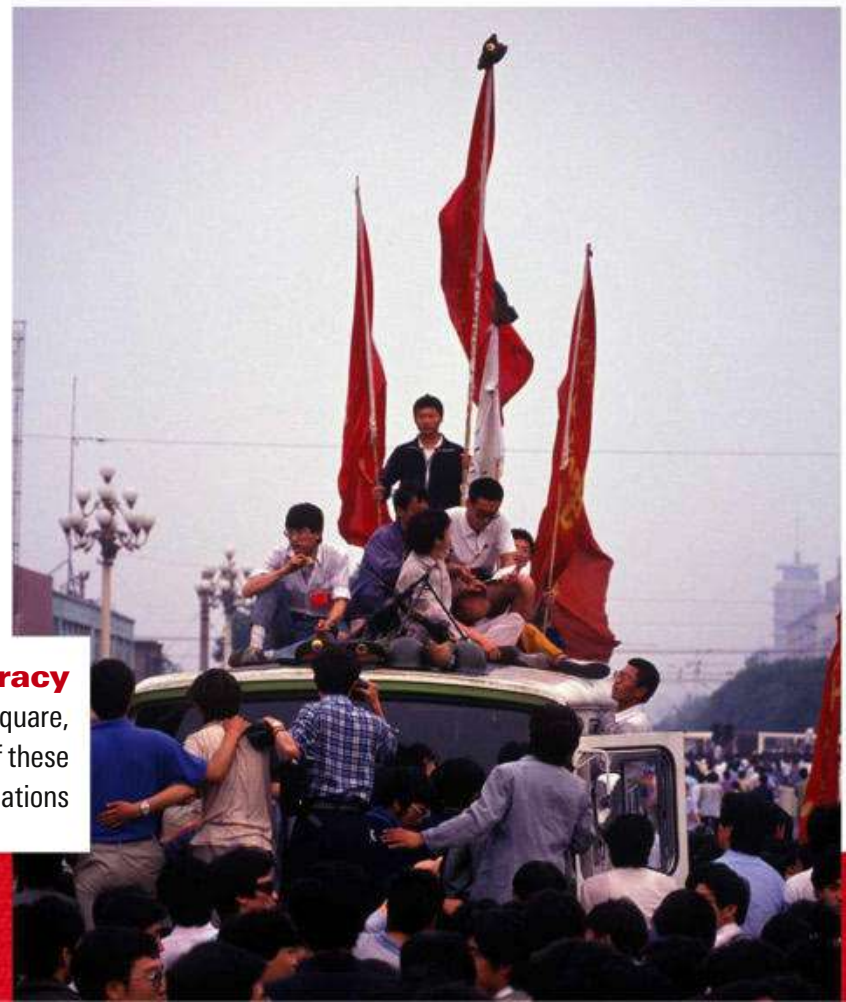
Head gear Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping accepts a Stetson hat in Texas during a 1979 US visit. "The emotional relationship was sealed at that rodeo, signalling a decade of closer ties," says Rana Mitter



Demands for democracy Protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 1989. The brutal crushing of these demonstrations strained US-Chinese relations

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Penny pinchers A lodger disputes his bill with his landlady in this 1812 print by Thomas Rowlandson. Many Georgians preferred to rent single rooms, rather than lease or purchase whole properties themselves

Lodging with Mozart

(and Shelley, Franklin and Byron)

It may seem strange in our home-owning obsessed times, but thousands of Georgians – from modest milliners to world-famous poets – chose renting a room over gaining a toehold on the property ladder. **Gillian Williamson** explains why

GETTY IMAGES/YALE

June 1785 in London was uncomfortably hot, relieved on the evening of Thursday 16th by a light breeze. Where Compton and Greek Streets met in Soho, shopkeepers were closing for the day, with residents propping open their windows and making ready for the night.

In the second-floor front room at Mrs Hannah Barker's house, milliner Mary Gay had tucked her son into bed and was tidying up. She opened the closet door. Suddenly the room filled with flames and smoke. A fire had burned through the wall separating the Barker residence from the neighbour: Mr Glossop, a successful candle-maker. Panicking, Mary grabbed her child and raised the alarm. Two more women appeared on the landing: unemployed servant Mary Harivin and a clergyman's daughter. Without time to gather belongings, they raced downstairs, alerting Gilbert Dring, the tailor on the first floor. Mrs Barker unbolted the front door. With her three stepchildren, sister and housemaid, they all ran into the street joining other residents who were fleeing flames fanned by the wind and sucked into open windows.

There followed a night-long battle to save people, homes and possessions. Surgeon Andrew Nihell had the narrowest escape, dragged with ropes from the rubble of a collapsed house. Dawn brought a sorry sight: 15 houses had been destroyed, and more damaged by smoke. The charitable response was immediate, raising £1,281 4s (more than £200,000 today). By 1 July, the first payments were being made to victims.

Outnumbered by lodgers

These payments reveal something about Compton and Greek Streets that we might not anticipate but which would have been expected at the time. These ordinary terraced houses – three storeys with two rooms to a floor, a basement and garret, in a respectable part of town – were not just family homes and businesses. They accommodated scores of lodgers renting rooms in someone else's house, for cash, usually paid weekly.

Of 85 claimants in the aftermath of the blaze, 16 were householders (the main occupants of the properties with leases from the freeholder, the Portland Estate). Twenty-nine were their personal or business servants. However, householders and servants were outnumbered by 40 lodger claimants, representing at least 65 individuals across 22 affected houses. They included Mary Gay and her son; Mary Harivin; the clergyman's daughter; Gilbert Dring; and Andrew Nihell, his wife and child.

This 1785 snapshot demonstrates how sizeable was the proportion of lodgers in London. Late 17th-century statistician Gregory King estimated that there were 42,500, which equated to 8 per cent of the capital's residents – more than the population of Norwich, then England's second-largest city. Some districts housed many lodgers: the City business area around the Royal Exchange; and Westminster's "centrical" area of Fleet Street, the Strand, Covent Garden and Soho. These areas appeared often in newspaper advertisements from would-be lodgers and landlords/ladies:

> BOARD AND LODGING
>
> WANTED for a gentleman and his wife, Board and Lodging in a reputable private regular family, in any airy street within the city (the nearer the Royal Exchange will be preferred).
>
> or:
>
> LODGINGS FOR A SINGLE GENTLEMAN
>
> Most desirable FIRST FLOOR, genteelly furnished in a small private Family, the Drawing Room fronts the River Thames, very contiguous to the Temple and Somerset Building.

Terrible tenants
Biographer James Boswell (top) and poet Percy Shelley (below) rented rooms in London, and both men's behaviour left a lot to be desired

As London expanded onto green fields, lodging spread into its new suburbs: Fitzrovia, Marylebone, Kensington and Islington. The only addresses where lodgers were unlikely to be found were the aristocratic squares of the West End.

The most common ways of finding lodgings were through personal recommendation and "the tramp" – walking the streets looking for cards in the window, then knocking at the door to view. It often didn't take long to find lodgings: the market was busy. All the homeless Compton Street fire lodgers had new accommodation nearby by early July. One pamphleteer thought lodgers moved on average twice a year.

Some moved far more frequently. With many rooms to choose from, lodgers could readily feel dissatisfied and fantasise about something better, or better value. In November 1763 young Scot James Boswell, the future biographer of Samuel Johnson, took three rooms in Downing Street with Mr and Mrs Terrie, for 40 guineas a year. Almost immediately he decided that the cost was excessive. He found cheaper rooms two streets away in Crown Street for £22 a year but, rather than move, used the threat of leaving to haggle the Terries down to £30 a year.

Samuel Curwen was a merchant from Salem, Massachusetts. Loyal to British rule, during the Revolutionary War, he sought sanctuary in England, staying from 1775 to 1784. In this nine-year span Curwen moved lodgings at least 34 times. His journal records a rollercoaster of excitement at a new room ("conveniently large, and time my own, free from interruption… landlady excellent tempered"), followed by growing disenchantment with hosts ("uncommonly rude and indecent") and fellow lodgers ("a cater-walling child crying", or a person who "disturbed me with German flutes").

Others moved for darker reasons. Poet Percy Shelley was a notorious offender. His marriage a failure, he flitted with lover Mary Godwin from lodging to lodging, staying at at least nine addresses between September 1814 and May 1816, leaving a trail of unpaid rent and bailiffs acting for his angry wife.

Celebrity houseguests

It was not just those too poor to rent a whole house who lodged. As the Compton Street records show, Georgian lodgers comprised men and women, singletons and families, from a variety of social and geographical backgrounds, sometimes all within one house. Boswell and Shelley were not the only famous London lodgers. In the 1760s the Mozarts, on a working European tour, lodged with a hairdresser and then a corset-maker in the centrical district. Bank of England

GETTY IMAGES

Movers and shakers

A couple are thrown out of their lodgings after their landlady discovers they are not married, in this 1824 print. Many Georgian lodgers chose to move frequently for more positive reasons, lured by more spacious rooms or cheaper prices

ALAMY

architect John Soane courted his wife, Eliza, while living for two years as a Miss Cecil's lodger at 53 Margaret Street, off Cavendish Square. Lord Byron lodged in St James's as a student.

Lodging meant that hosts gave up rooms in their home to strangers. They lost privacy but gained an extra income that might fully cover their own rent. Meanwhile, lodgers had to live in a limited, multi-purpose space. Artists William and Catherine Blake had two modest rooms in Fountain Court, Strand. One was for business reception. In the other they slept, cooked, ate and worked.

Describing living in one room above a Strand milliner's, the actor and author Elizabeth Inchbald wrote: "I am all over black and blue with thumping my body and limbs against my furniture on every side: but then I have not far to *walk* to reach any thing I want; for I can kindle my fire as I lie in bed; and put my cap on as I dine; for the looking-glass is obliged to stand on the same table with my dinner."

Why, then, was lodging attractive? Firstly, it was flexible. It was easy to move at short notice, to negotiate one's own terms, and to renegotiate if circumstances changed. This suited those with precarious incomes. In the 1790s Francis Place, an ambitious young tailor and radical, moved with his family as his income fluctuated, shifting between one room, a room with a curtain screening the bed, and the relative spaciousness of a room plus windowed closet.

Flexibility appealed, too, to writers, artists and actors. In 1737 Samuel Johnson arrived penniless in London seeking a living by his pen and recalled a friend's advice. On £30 a year (in his friend's eyes, the minimum needed to maintain some sort of gentility), the budget was 18d a week for a garret room, a daily 1d on a bread-and-milk breakfast in the room, 3d nursing a drink in a coffeehouse to save on coals, 6d for dinner in a chop-house, and no supper. This left £10 a year for clothes and sundries. A smart appearance mattered more in maintaining a reputation than grand accommodation.

Lodging was also carefree, avoiding responsibility for home maintenance and liability to serve in parish offices or pay most taxes. It was often associated with the bachelor lifestyle of men like Boswell; students at the Inns of Court, art schools and hospitals (there was no university in London until

Poet Percy Shelley flitted from lodging to lodging with his lover, leaving a trail of unpaid rent and bailiffs in his wake

Compact and bijou?
Louis Philippe Boitard's *Self-Portrait with Two Young Men* (1730–40) shows the artist entertaining guests to tea and cake in his London lodging room – a living space and a studio. The room includes a bed and a chamber-pot, which is attracting the interest of a dog!

1826); or those visiting the capital for leisure. Benjamin Haydon lodged alongside fellow artists in Rathbone Place in 1807. Older and failed, he reminisced nostalgically: "Happy period! – painting and living in one room, as independent as the wind – no servants, no responsibilities, reputation in the bud, hopes endless, ambition beginning…"

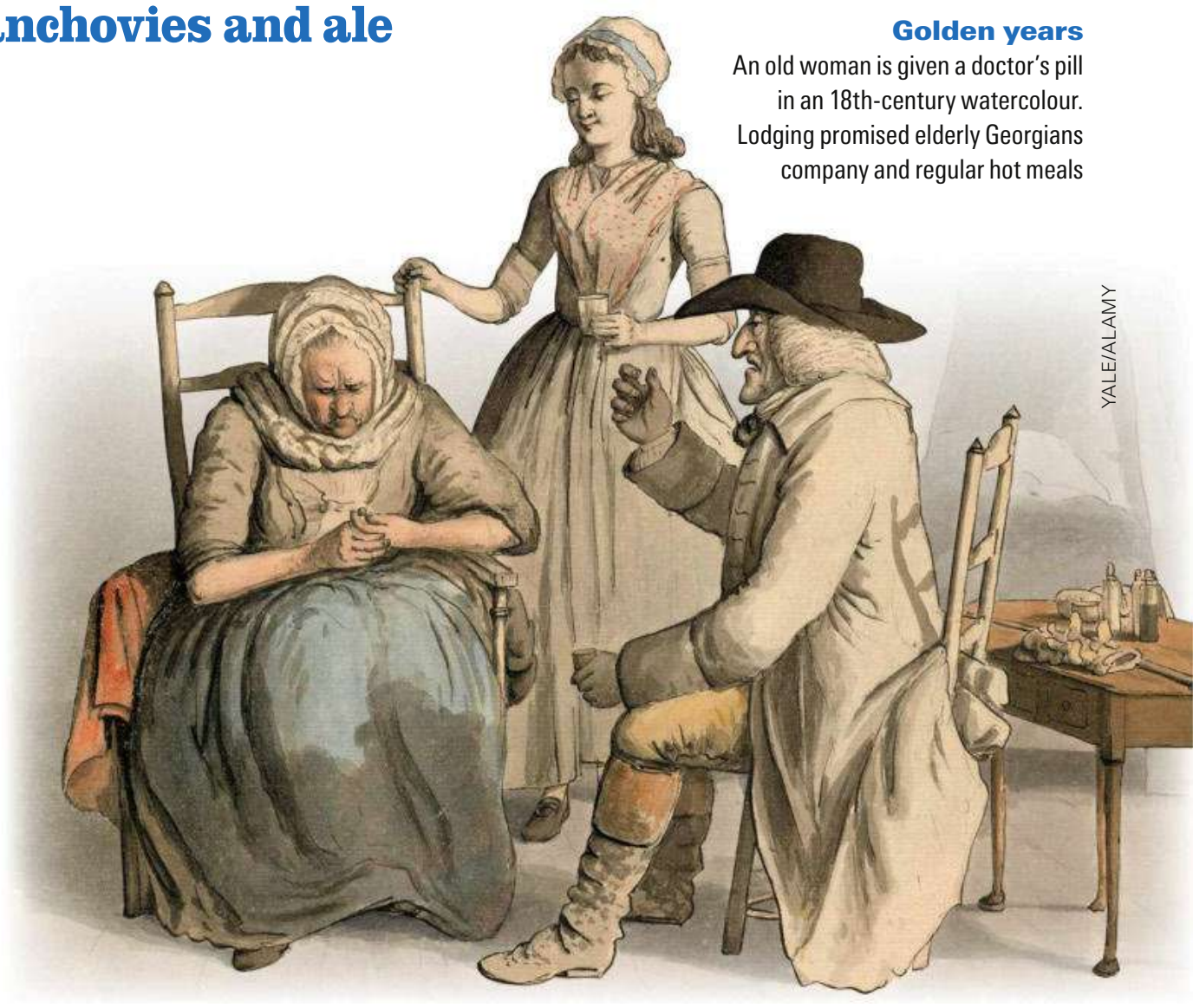
Freedom from responsibilities also released time for work, especially writing. For, as Scottish author Thomas Carlyle, lodging off Euston Road, wrote in 1831: "One needs but little room to work profitably in; *my* craft especially requires nothing but a chair, a table, and a piece of paper."

Benjamin Franklin enjoyed evenings chatting with his landlady, sharing anchovies and ale

Early retirement homes

The ill and elderly could also benefit. Specialist landlords catered for their needs, typically in semi-rural locations away from the noise and dirt of central London. After nearly 40 years lodging in London, Elizabeth Inchbald spent her final years in a string of these establishments with their regular hot meals, communal parlours and company. She described vividly the downbeat atmosphere at one such "retirement home", Mrs Voysey's, at Leonard's Place, Kensington: "All the old widows and old maids of this house are stretched upon beds or sofas with swoln [sic] legs, nervous head-aches, or slow fevers, brought on by loss of appetite, violent thirst, broken sleep, and other dog-day complaints…"

Finally, lodging promised domestic



YALE/ALAMY

Golden years
An old woman is given a doctor's pill in an 18th-century watercolour. Lodging promised elderly Georgians company and regular hot meals

Landladies under attack

Georgian gossip-mongers preyed on women who let out rooms

Eighteenth-century lodgers were drawn from all parts of the social spectrum – from milliners to celebrated composers to future founding fathers of the United States. But what about the people who put them up?

Many Georgian landlords and landladies came from the middle class of professionals: shopkeepers and skilled artisans in "clean" occupations such as the manufacture of clothing.

Among married couples it was often the wife who managed the lodgers. It was work similar to wifely housekeeping responsibilities: caring for a family, cleaning the house, and buying, preparing and serving food.

Yet not all landladies were married, and not all came from the "middling" sort. Many were single or widowed, and undertook these tasks not from love and Christian duty, but for money. And that often came at a price.

Inviting strangers into the home – and turning that home into a business – was dangerous for Georgian women's reputations, and opened them up to all manner of ridicule and vilification.

If the stranger-lodgers were female, her home could be misinterpreted as a brothel, with her the "madame" and her lodgers sex workers. If they were male, the relationship was open to sexual innuendo.

Novels, plays and prints exploited these landlady stereotypes. In Frances Burney's play *The Witlings*, landlady Mrs Voluble is a nosy gossip, rifling through her lodger's room the minute he goes out. In Samuel Richardson's popular novel *Clarissa*, the heroine is lured to West End lodgings that prove to be a brothel run by sinister bawd Mrs Sinclair.

These cultural attitudes affected how lodgers, especially men, perceived real-life landladies. They were angry if they failed to provide caring services gratis. (Samuel Curwen complained when his landlady Mrs Atwood, of Knightsbridge, went out for the day when he was suffering the after-effects of an enema for his constipation.)

They also regarded landladies, their daughters and maidservants as sexually available. One landlord, a Mr Malton of Chelsea, caught his lodger, William Hickey, creeping downstairs after lights out to join their 16-year-old daughter in her bed.

When relationships soured, higher-status lodgers, like Boswell and Curwen, were snobbishly abusive. Society's harshest judgment came in the reaction to the 1761 murder of Anne King by her lodger, the Swiss miniaturist Théodore Gardelle. King was very much the victim in this episode. Yet she received little sympathy from the popular press, which portrayed her as "showy", and exhibited a gleeful preoccupation with her "gentlemen callers".

A c1825 print shows a landlady letting a room for "a guinea a week". Women who let rooms for profit were the focus of innuendo

Clarissa Harlowe, the fictional heroine who was lured to a brothel by a villainous landlady

ALAMY/YALE

comfort, increasingly valued by Georgian Britons. Rooms at an inn or coffeehouse were satisfactory for a night or two, but were public and rowdy, with only passing company. Lodgers on the other hand had some sense of belonging to a family, and often favoured this over commercial "common lodging houses":

> BOARD and LODGING
> wanted for a young GENTLEMAN
> near the Royal Exchange,
> in a respectable regular family…
> No Boarding-house need apply.

Creature comforts

Domestic comfort implied pleasant rooms. Advertisements repeatedly described lodgings as neat, airy and elegantly furnished. In 1811 Shelley, expelled from Oxford University, chose rooms in 15 Poland Street for the pretty trellised wallpaper.

Yet not all lodgers were as lucky as Shelley – after all, from the landlords' perspective, extra luxury meant smaller profits. Upon moving in, lodgers might find furnishings lacking. Pushy lodgers like Boswell demanded better. He had the Terries make a door between two of his rooms and buy him breakfast cups, a bureau, carpet and new bed.

Some lodgers bought "missing" items themselves. Samuel Curwen purchased a second-hand bureau-table for a room at Furnival's Inn Court, Holborn. Others created a homely ambience with small objects. Jonathan Swift, author of *Gulliver's Travels*, had books and coffee-making equipment; Elizabeth Inchbald arranged ornaments and pictures; and writers Charles Lamb and his sister Mary pasted prints on the walls and added rugs and chairs to their Temple rooms.

Potential lodgers were attracted by the prospect of socialising in the home. Advertisements and diaries show lodgers' and hosts' love of conversation, cards and tea in the parlour, reading together and outings. In his twenties, the future American statesman Benjamin Franklin was employed as a printer and lodging near Lincoln's Inn Fields. He enjoyed evenings chatting with his landlady over anchovies and bread and butter, washed down by a shared pint of ale.

Not everyone was as amiable as Franklin, however, or as accommodating as his host. Despite all they had done for him, Boswell eventually tired of the Terries, calling their company "confined and vulgar". The crunch came when he used their parlour, to which he only had morning access, for an evening party. Alcohol-fuelled antics led to a terrible argument and a parting of the ways.

Cosy fireside chats and pints of ale may have defined many landlord-tenant relationships in the 18th century. But, even in this golden age of lodging, acrimony and breakup was only a drunken party away. H

Gillian Williamson is a historian and author. Her latest book, *Lodgers, Landlords, and Landladies in Georgian London*, was published by Bloomsbury in 2021

Leave a legacy

By pledging to leave a gift in your Will, you'll help Cancer Research UK continue to transform lives for future generations

"I will fight cancer all my life, and I want to continue to fight it when I'm gone"

Learnings from the past are invaluable in shaping the present and informing the future – and it's this guiding principle that underpins Cancer Research UK's life-saving work. Drawing on insights gathered over hundreds of years, the charity's skilled scientists and researchers are working towards preventing, diagnosing and treating more than 200 types of cancer.

Discoveries throughout history have helped us to make incredible progress in the fight against cancer. In the 18th century, for instance, physician John Hunter proposed that some types of the disease may be curable with surgery, an idea that has subsequently led to life-saving operations. And it was even further back, in the 17th century, that the link between tobacco and health was first made, helping us to understand how we can prevent lung cancer today.

With support from people like you, Cancer Research UK has made some life-changing breakthroughs in more recent years too, from the introduction of radiotherapy to the development of new cancer drugs.

One in two of us will get cancer in our lifetime*, but by pledging to leave a gift in your Will, you'll be playing an integral part in helping the charity ensure more people are surviving their disease than ever before.

Success stories

Cancer Research UK supports the work of more than 4,000 scientists, doctors and nurses, all of whom work tirelessly to prevent, diagnose and treat cancer. Indeed, the organisation is the world's leading cancer charity dedicated to saving lives through research, influencing and information.

Cancer Research UK has achieved some incredible successes in recent years, including its research helping to prove the value of cervical screening, which now prevents thousands of deaths every year. The charity's work has also helped double breast cancer survival, and it was a key player in the development of radiotherapy too, which now benefits more than 130,000 patients every year in the UK.

With your help, the charity is determined to achieve its ambition to see three in four people survive their cancer by 2034.

The gift of life

It's thanks to generous supporters like you that Cancer Research UK is the only independently funded body to research more than 200 cancer types. In fact, more than a third of funding comes from gifts in Wills, making them a vital part of the fight against cancer.

With your gifts, Cancer Research UK will be able to continue planning and investing in research projects that have huge potential in terms of beating cancer. So, by pledging to leave a gift in your Will, you'll not only be playing an integral role in helping to change lives now, but also for generations to come.

Why leave a gift in your Will to Cancer Research UK?

- One in two of us will get cancer in our lifetime.*
- Gifts in Wills fund a third of Cancer Research UK's research, and are vital to accelerating progress to save more lives.
- A gift of £4,000 funds the online forum Cancer Chat for one week, helping thousands of people connect and share their stories through difficult times.
- Every donation helps Cancer Research UK learn faster. By pledging a gift in your Will, you can support the charity's vision to bring forward the day when all cancers are cured.

*Ahmad AS et al. British Journal of Cancer, 2015

Jo, Pledger

Recent research based on early insights about DNA has shown that some forms of cancer are caused by an inherited mutation in a gene. For Cancer Research UK campaign ambassador Jo, this information has been crucial in helping him to look out for his children.

"My wife Sue was diagnosed with a very rare cancer called pheochromocytoma in 1993. We were told that she had six months to live, which was very hard," says Jo. "Fortunately, Sue was able to have radioactive treatment, which allowed her to live a normal life. I looked after her until she sadly passed away in December 2003.

"In 2010, we found out that the faulty SDH-B gene that had caused Sue's cancer was hereditary, and that my four children should have a blood test to see if they had inherited it. My two eldest children did not have the gene, but my twins, Jennie and James, did.

"James had five tumours near his abdomen, which were operated on and removed. Jennie had one tumour in her jugular vein, which was impossible to operate on, but in 2014 she underwent radioactive treatment, which appears to have stopped it from growing. They both continue to be screened on a regular basis."

Since Sue's diagnosis, Jo has been doing everything he can to support Cancer Research UK, including pledging to leave a gift in his Will. "I am passionate about helping to beat cancer and I hope my legacy encourages people to realise they can also help scientists to find cures for this terrible disease. I will fight cancer all my life, and I want to continue to fight it when I'm gone," Jo says.

CANCER RESEARCH UK

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Cancer Research UK is a registered charity in England and Wales (1089464), Scotland (SC041666), and the Isle of Man (1103) and Jersey (247)

When war broke out in 1939, food shortages posed just as grave a threat to Britons as a German invasion. From Dig for Victory to the land girls, **JOHN MARTIN** charts a nation's battle with starvation

DIG FOR VICT

GETTY IMAGES

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TORY

On the eve of the Second World War, those charged with putting food on Britons' dinner tables were faced with a deeply unpalatable reality: the nation could barely feed itself.

The statistics made for troubling reading. Almost 90 per cent of the wheat Britain used in its bread was sourced from overseas – chiefly from the USA, Canada and Australia. Sugar was mainly derived from imported sugar cane; more than half of all meat was shipped from Australia, New Zealand and Argentina; and around 90 per cent of the nation's butter was produced abroad. All in all, more than 70 per cent of Britain's food was imported – and that was a far higher proportion than any other nation about to be embroiled in the conflict.

In peacetime, this fact gave little cause for concern. Britain's global maritime supply chains saw to that. But in wartime, with German U-boats stalking the seas and threatening to sever shipping lanes linking Britain to its allies, the nation's reliance on imported foodstuffs was potentially catastrophic. In short, as war loomed, Britain was confronted with the prospect that it could be starved into submission.

With U-boats stalking the seas, Britain was faced with the prospect that it could be starved into submission

What the nation did in response to this existential threat was as important as any battle that its troops fought on the front line. And that response involved increasing domestic food production to levels rarely before witnessed on these islands – by transforming farming methods, championing grow-your-own, and rallying everyone from gardeners and land girls to farmers and evacuees to the cause.

Over the following decade, Britons had to tighten their belts, endure rationing and expose their palates to such culinary "delights" as powdered eggs and mock turkey. But the crusade worked. When the nation celebrated victory in 1945, it did so in the knowledge that as well as defeating its enemies on the battlefield, it had won the war on hunger.

Green revolution

The wartime government implemented a raft of policies to boost food production, but only one has since acquired iconic status, and that is the Dig for Victory campaign. This nationwide crusade saw Britons picking up their spades, heading into their gardens and transforming their outdoor spaces into mini vegetable patches.

Dig for Victory wasn't just confined to domestic gardens. All available green spaces were viewed as potential allotments – from urban bomb sites to the edges of American airfields. Even the lawns and moat outside the Tower of London were transformed into communal vegetable patches.

The great outdoors
A recruitment poster for the Women's Land Army, 1940s. Land girls played a critical role in reversing the labour shortage created by agricultural workers being enlisted into the armed forces

ALAMY

The authorities were all too aware that if Dig for Victory was going to work, it needed full public buy-in – a fact that was reflected in the great lengths to which the government went to promote the campaign. It established Victory (or War) Gardens to demonstrate how grow-your-own worked in practice, it produced a blizzard of educational leaflets and posters, and it encouraged children to join in by growing vegetables at school. And if you went to the cinema, the chances are you would have seen a short Ministry of Information film promoting Dig for Victory before the main feature.

The citizen-army that lent its support to Dig for Victory didn't just produce potatoes and carrots in their newly ploughed allotments. They also supplemented their diets by keeping chickens (for eggs and meat) and participating in pig clubs. Children were also encouraged to keep pet rabbits which would be periodically eaten.

Pig clubs consisted of small groups of households supplying food waste for their pig to eat, cleaning the pigsty and sharing the meat they produced. When the animals were slaughtered, under the watchful eye of the local policeman, regulations required that half of the meat be handed over to the Ministry of Food. One man who observed this process while a young boy, recalled the local police constable joking that he'd never before seen a pig with two heads. It seems that, in return for a joint of meat, the constable was willing to turn a blind eye to a little bending of the rules.

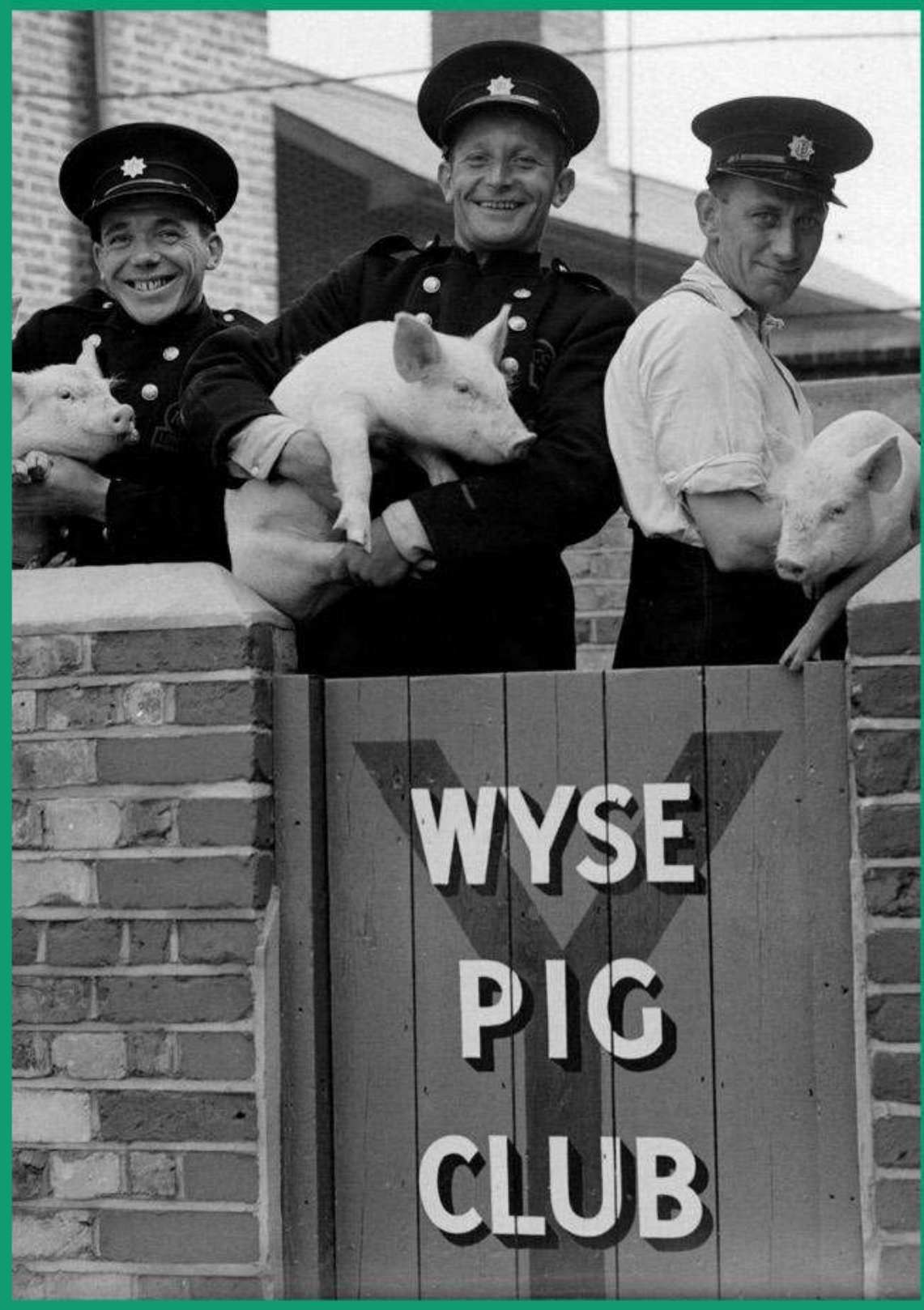
There's no denying Dig for Victory's impact on Britain's green spaces. Research by the Royal Horticultural Society indicated that by the end of the conflict there were around 1.4 million allotments in Britain (up from an estimated 800,000 before the war). But the success of the campaign shouldn't just be measured in the vegetables, eggs and meat that it produced for Britons' plates. These additional supplies also freed up space on shipping to import weapons and other essential materials. Just as importantly, the campaign ensured that everyone, including children, had the opportunity to contribute to the war effort. When the Second World War is described as a people's war, that is, to a certain extent at least, thanks to Dig for Victory.

Ploughing crusade

For all its undoubted success in galvanising civilian morale, in terms of actual yield, Dig for Victory was far from the most successful

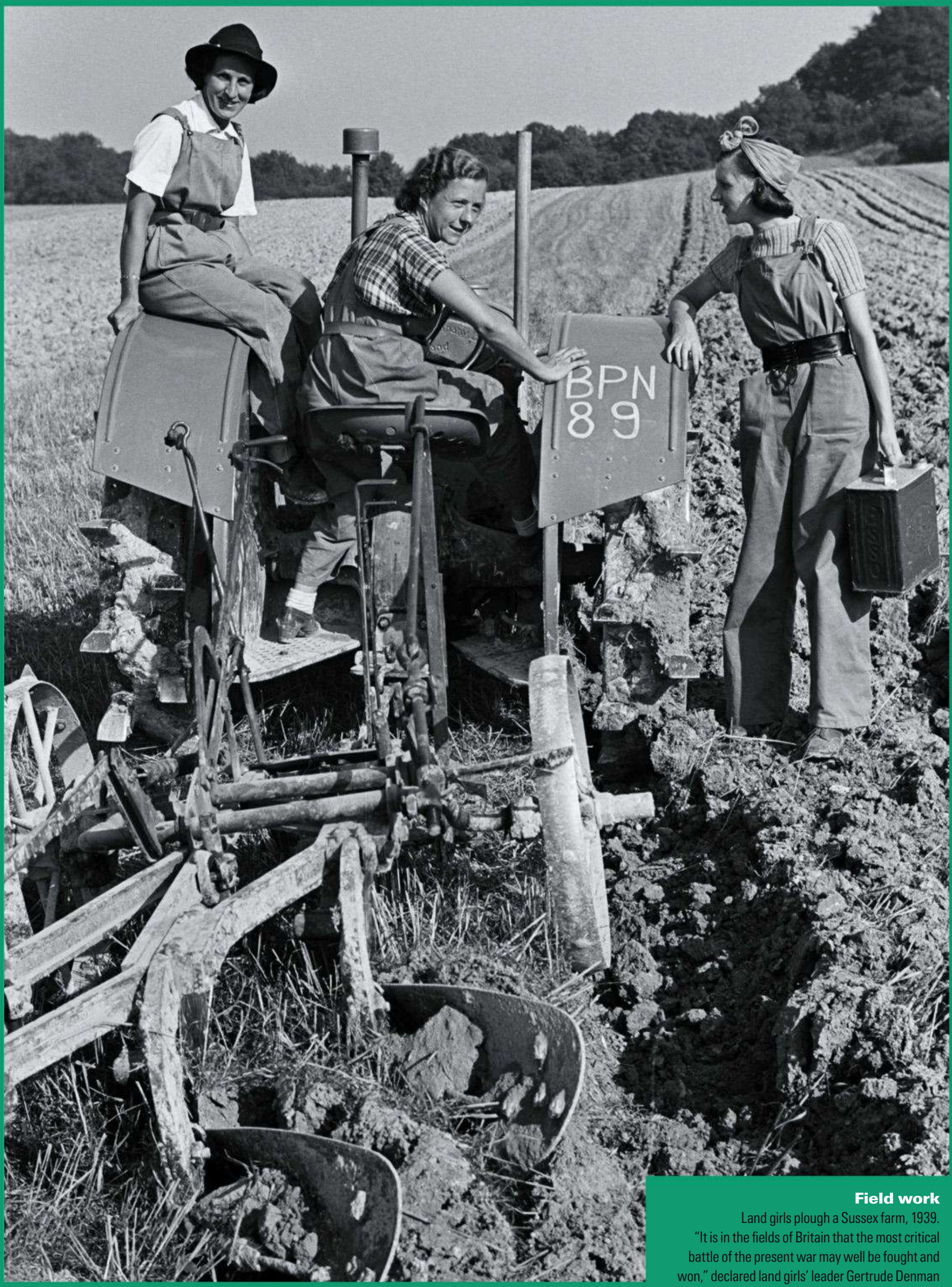
Child labour
Schoolboys work on allotments in East Suffolk, 1941. Dig for Victory gave everyone the opportunity to assist the war effort, which in turn boosted civilian morale

Smoky bacon
London firemen with pigs they were raising for the war effort. Pig club regulations required that half of each slaughtered animal had to be handed over to the Ministry of Food



GETTY IMAGES

Land grab
A man tends an allotment next to the Tower of London. The Dig for Victory campaign aimed to turn as much green space as possible into vegetable patches



GETTY IMAGES

Field work

Land girls plough a Sussex farm, 1939. "It is in the fields of Britain that the most critical battle of the present war may well be fought and won," declared land girls' leader Gertrude Denman

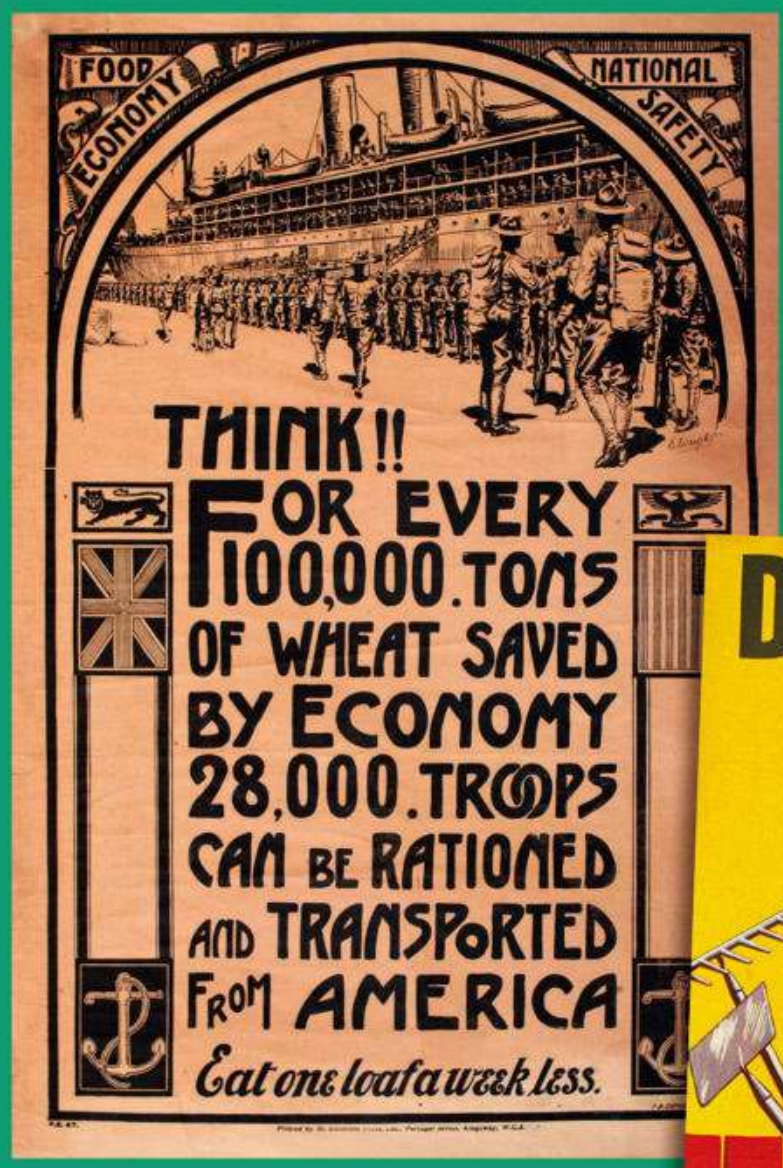
Children, PoWs, evacuees and, above all, land girls were called upon to plug the agricultural labour gap

food production crusade. That honour must go to the Ploughing-Up campaign, which saw much of Britain's pasture land converted to arable. The government was all too aware that arable crops produced significantly more calories per acre than land left as pasture and used for livestock production – and, as early as the summer of 1939, it was providing a £2 per acre ploughing-up grant to farmers.

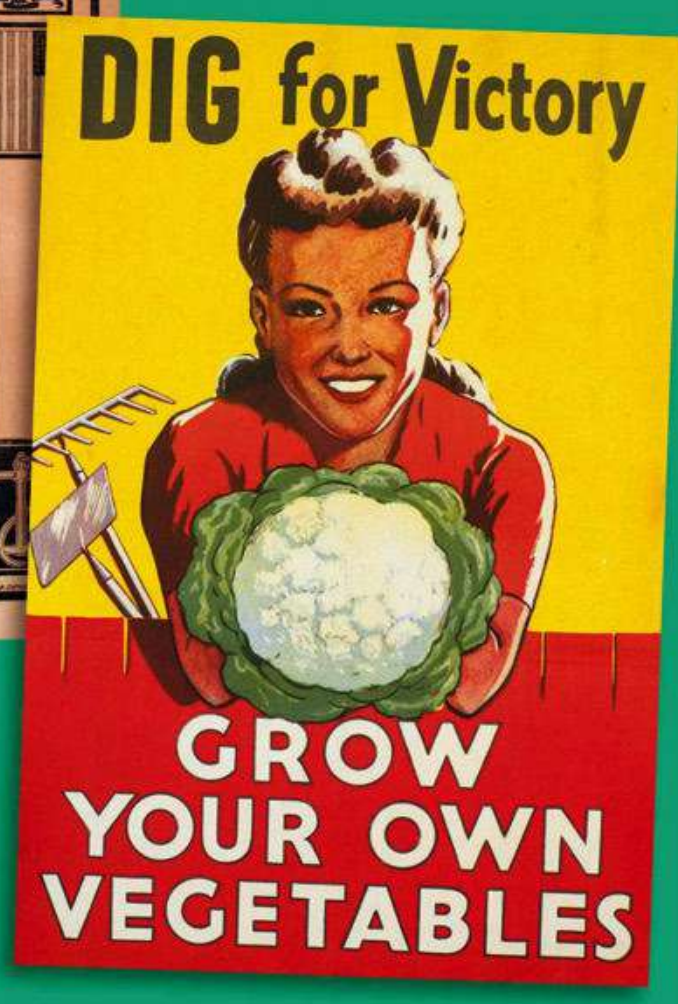
In fact, wartime officials were so invested in this ploughing revolution that they established a network of county-based War Agricultural Executive Committees (known as "War Ags") across England and Wales to coordinate food production at a local level. The War Ags' role was to encourage, direct and – if necessary – compel farmers to adopt more productive methods of farming. The results were extraordinary. Over a five-year period, Britain's arable land increased to the tune of 5 million acres, dwarfing the rise that was achieved during the First World War.

A new workforce

It was all very well making millions of acres of land available for ploughing but with thousands of agricultural workers now enlisted into the armed forces, who was going to work that land? This was a question that weighed heavily on officials throughout the war – and it was one that they answered in a number of ways. They mobilised evacuees and schoolchildren via a harvest camp scheme. They also increasingly utilised the swelling ranks of German and Italian prisoners of war. (From July to September 1945, six out of ten German PoWs were pressed into working in agriculture, making up around 11 per cent of the agricultural labour force.) But, above all, they turned to the Women's Land Army.


FOOD ECONOMY
NATIONAL SAFETY
THINK!!
FOR EVERY 100,000 TONS OF WHEAT SAVED BY ECONOMY 28,000 TROOPS CAN BE RATIONED AND TRANSPORTED FROM AMERICA
Eat one loaf a week less.

Second helpings
A First World War poster calls on Britons to eat less wheat. The government applied lessons that had been learned from the food shortages of 1914–18 during the Second World War

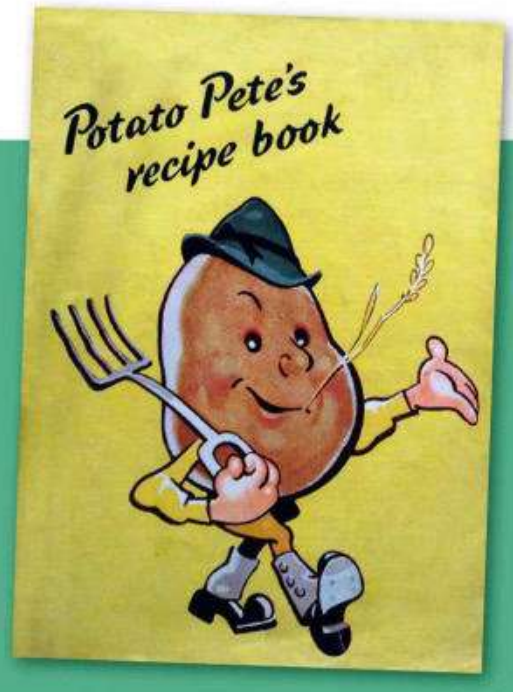


Cauliflower power
A Dig for Victory poster. By 1944, Britain was growing 45 per cent more vegetables than it had done in 1939

Riding the waves
A Royal Navy destroyer on escort patrol, 1941. The more food Britain grew at home, the more space was freed up for munitions on Atlantic convoys

SPUDS, PIES AND INNER TUBES

From the Savoy-standard to the stomach-turning, seven foodstuffs found on the wartime plate



The government used Potato Pete to extol the benefits of a vitamin C-rich foodstuff

SOMETHING FISHY

The wartime shortage of meat and fish encouraged the Ministry of Food to popularise alternatives such as whale meat and snoek piquant (snook) imported from South Africa. Newspapers and radio broadcasts provided instructions on how to prepare and cook these fish. Yet not everyone was sold on their benefits. One commentator claimed that whale meat was rather like trying to eat the inner tube of a car tyre.

THE SUPERSTAR VEGETABLE

The Ministry of Food spent much of the war encouraging the population to eat more carrots – chiefly because they were particularly suited to gardens and allotments. In fact, government officials were so enamoured of the vegetables that they even suggested that children should eat them instead of lollies.

The idea that carrots improve your eyesight largely has its roots in a Second World War propaganda campaign. During the war the Royal Air Force employed radar, which helped pilots shoot down German enemy planes at night. However, the pilots' success was officially attributed to them eating large numbers of carrots.

PIE MINISTER

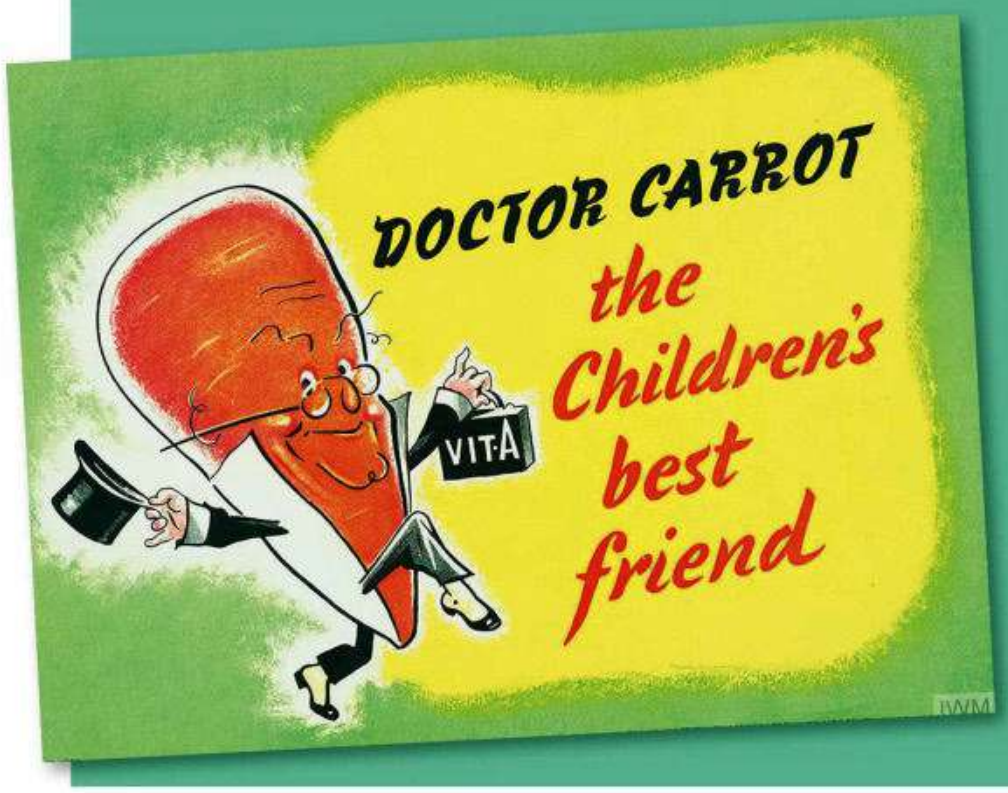
In the early 1940s, Britons began to tuck into a pastry dish of vegetables that had apparently first been served up in London's Savoy Hotel. That dish is known as the Woolton Pie, due to the fact that it was popularised by Frederick Marquis, 1st Lord Woolton, who served as Minister of Food from 1940–43.

The Woolton Pie contained very little fat, sugar and meat, due to wartime rationing. But cooks worked wonders in compensating for shortages. Some even added a handful of stinging nettles or dandelions to the pie to pep up its flavour.

THE DAILY MUSH

Bread wasn't rationed during the Second World War, but the composition of the loaf *did* change – and, in the eyes of many Britons, not for the better. In 1942, in order to combat the shortages of white flour made from imported hard grained wheats, the Federation of Bakers unveiled the National Loaf. This was similar to brown bread and contained added calcium and vitamins. But that didn't save it from being labelled as mushy and unappetising.

The war also saw the Ministry of Food attempting to popularise the idea that eating crusts made your hair curl.



Growing underground
Doctor Carrot promotes the benefits of the allotment-friendly root vegetable. The Ministry of Food even encouraged children to eat carrots instead of lollies

DECLARING WAR ON FATIGUE

The potato was another vegetable beloved of the Ministry of Food during the Second World War – for the dual reasons that it wasn't rationed and it contained vitamin C, which helps prevent fatigue and fight infection. The ministry invented cartoon characters such as "Potato Pete" to bang the drum for the trusty spud, accompanied by a series of recipe books detailing the best ways to consume them.

POWDER PROBLEMS

The government and the population at large had to agree to disagree when it came to powdered eggs (or dried eggs, as they were known colloquially). The authorities championed them as an ideal substitute for fresh eggs, which were subject to rationing restrictions. Britons, however, widely turned their noses up at them. The official response to these criticisms was that powdered eggs were the same as fresh eggs and that the consumer was simply mixing the powder incorrectly.

A MOCK CHRISTMAS

There was a turkey-shaped hole in the traditional Christmas meal throughout the Second World War. A shortage of the domesticated bird led the Ministry of Food to come up with the idea of promoting the Murkey (mock turkey) in a bid to boost morale. The Murkey was a piece of breast meat from a sheep, reshaped by the butcher to look like a turkey and garnished accordingly. There was a problem, however: it still tasted like mutton – and was widely regarded as a poor imitation of the real thing.

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

The WLA had proven itself before, plugging the agricultural labour gap back in the First World War. In the summer of 1939, as conflict with Germany loomed once more, the land girls (as members of the WLA were best known) were called into action again, descending on farms all over Britain to plough fields, sow seeds and pick produce.

"The land army fights in the fields," declared Lady Gertrude Denman, director of the WLA. "It is in the fields of Britain that the most critical battle of the present war may well be fought and won."

And it was because that battle was so critical that the government invested a huge amount of time and effort selling the concept of farm work. This was primarily aimed at potential female recruits, trumpeting the benefits of working in what posters portrayed as an idyllic open-air environment. But it was also directed at farmers themselves, who were sometimes uneasy at the prospect of women working on their land – citing concerns that they weren't as physically strong and might distract male labourers.

The WLA was initially a voluntary organisation. Yet it wasn't long before it came under the jurisdiction of the National Service Act. And that meant that single women between 20 and 30 years old (although this age range was later increased) and widows without children were directed to work in industry, agriculture or the armed forces.

They came from all walks of life, with huge numbers leaving the towns and cities to work on the land for the very first time. Many relished the experience. Others' experiences were marred by homesickness and conflict with locals. Pay was low and the work tough and unrelenting. And nor, initially, did the land girls get the recognition they deserved. In fact, it wasn't until December 2007 – following prolonged campaigning – that the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs formally recognised the land girls' contribution to Britain's wartime survival by presenting a commemorative badge to 45,000 surviving members.

Crusading story

In his book *Agriculture* (part of *The History of the Second World War* series), published in 1955, the academic Sir Keith Murray hailed the wartime transition from pasture to arable farming as "an unqualified success story". He eulogised over the "crusading enthusiasm to bring about a renaissance in British farming" that had resulted from "the progressive tenant farmers and farming land-owners on the committees".

More recent research has suggested that wartime relations between the government and the agricultural community weren't quite

Outside help
German PoWs take a break on a farm in Essex, April 1945. By now, they accounted for around 1 in 10 of Britain's agricultural workforce

Taste test As farm workers were called away to war, the government had to find other sources of agricultural labour. Here schoolboys prepare a meal, while harvesting potatoes in Monmouthshire, 1941

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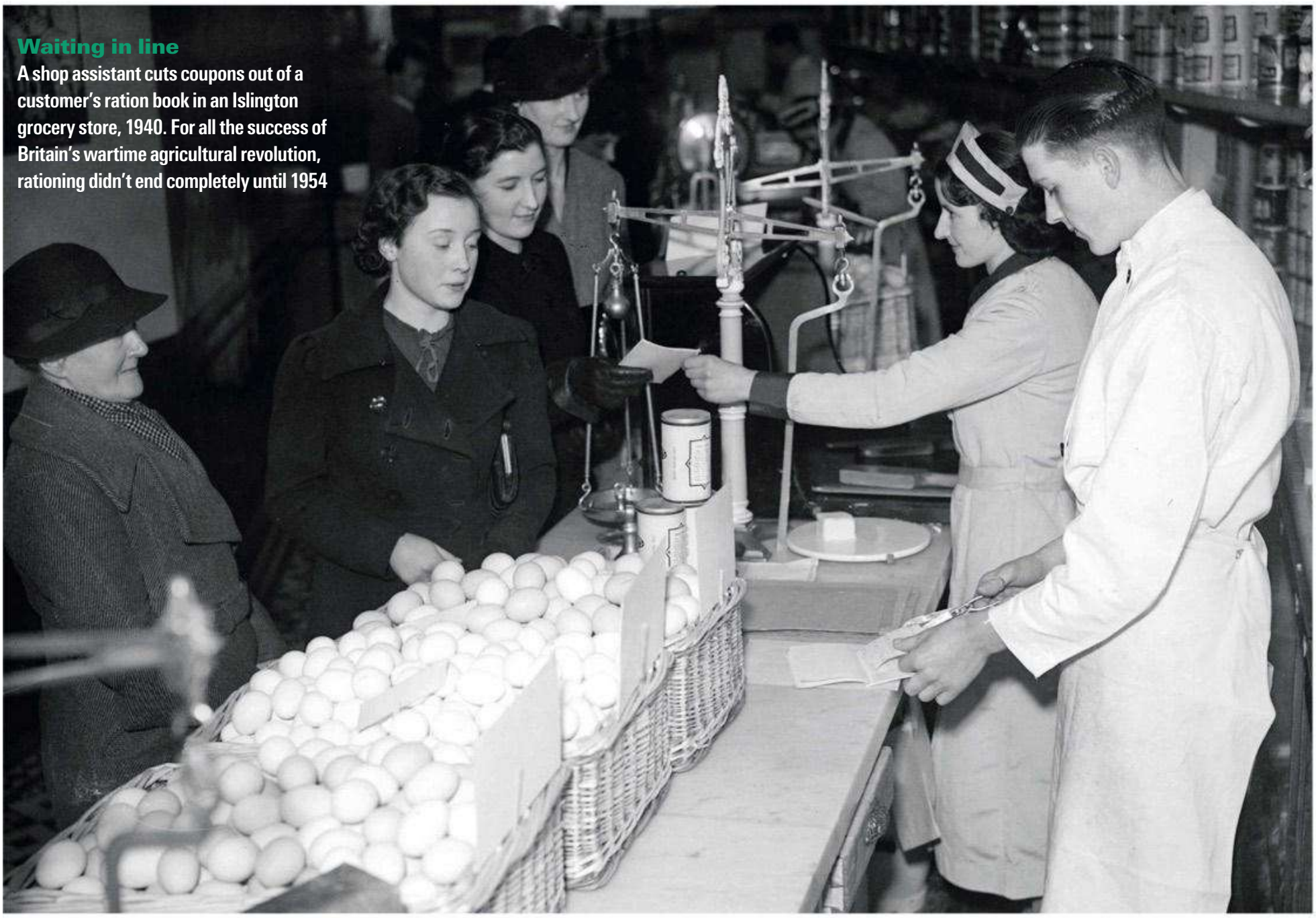

Waiting in line
A shop assistant cuts coupons out of a customer's ration book in an Islington grocery store, 1940. For all the success of Britain's wartime agricultural revolution, rationing didn't end completely until 1954

GETTY IMAGES

as harmonious as Murray would have had his readers believe – and, since the late 1990s, a number of cases have come to light of officialdom castigating tenant farmers for failing to toe the line.

Yet, for all that, Britain's wartime agricultural revolution constitutes a remarkable achievement. By 1944, 90 per cent more wheat, 87 per cent more potatoes and 45 per cent more vegetables were being produced on British farms than they were before the war. In a conflict as all-consuming as the Second World War, that was potentially the difference between starvation and survival.

In the teeth of a crisis

The wartime food production drive also provided Britain with a number of salutary lessons to be applied long after the end of the conflict. One of these lessons was the need for the state to establish a long-term commitment to supporting agriculture not only in the teeth of a national crisis, but also during times of peace. To that end, the landmark 1947 Agriculture Act gave farmers an assured market and guaranteed prices for their produce. It also placed agriculture on more of a business footing, based on a modern agricultural revolution that encouraged the adoption of more productive scientific methods of farming.

One of the lessons of the war was to give agriculture the support it needed in times of peace

It's difficult to overstate the impact of this approach on British agriculture – in both economic and ecological terms. On the positive side of the ledger, between 1950 and 1990 agricultural productivity doubled in Great Britain. However, much of this rise was driven by the application of herbicides, pesticides and fungicides to our farmland. That the postwar modernisation of farming has adversely affected flora and fauna diversity is surely beyond doubt.

For good or bad, the agricultural revolution has transformed farming in Great Britain over the past eight decades – and that, to a very large extent, can be traced back to the spectre of starvation that stalked the nation during the Second World War. H

John Martin is a visiting professor of agrarian history at the Museum of English Rural Life, Reading University

›› **Turn to page 92 to read our recipe for a wartime Woolton Pie**

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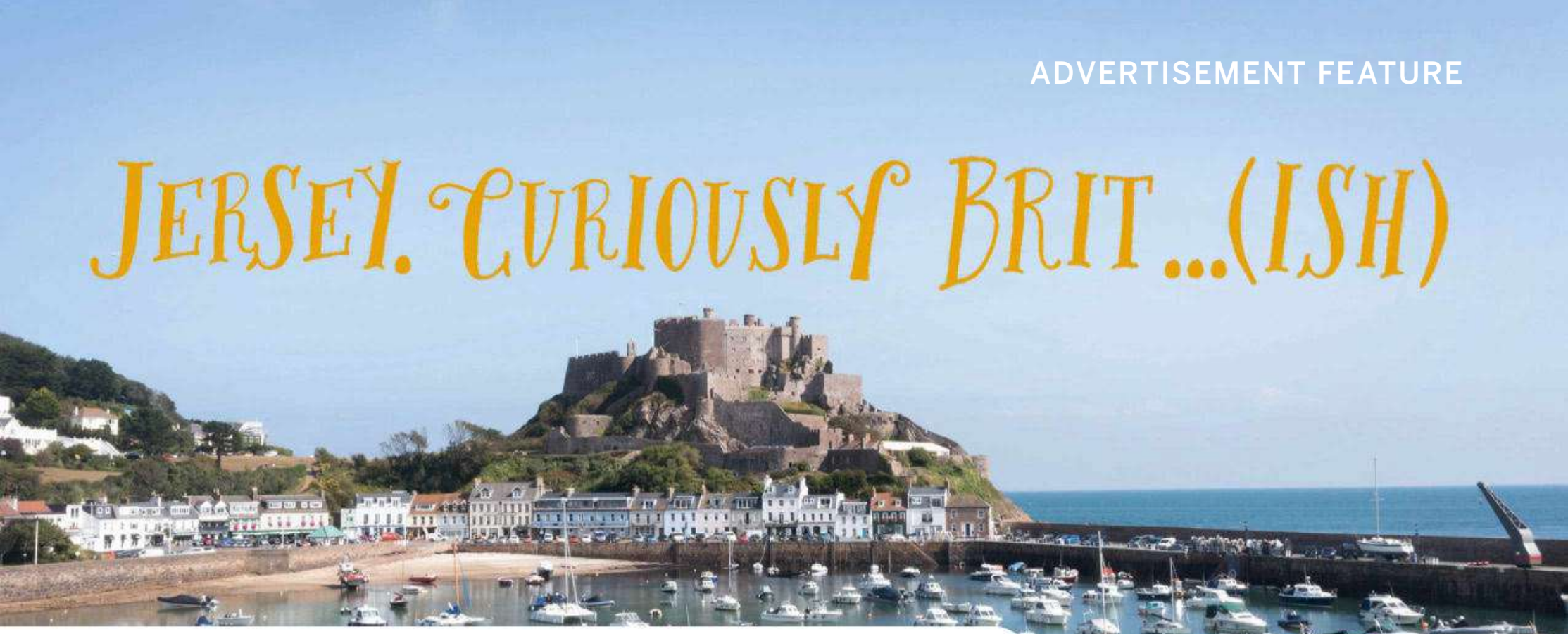
Jersey. Curiously Brit ...(ish)



Mont Orgueil castle in Gorey guards the shore

Less than an hour's flight away and teeming with fascinating, unique history, Jersey deserves to be your next island break

It may be just a stone's throw away from the UK's mainland, but when you visit Jersey, you'll feel a million miles from home. With exotic beaches, rugged cliffs and sun-dappled vineyards, the island is the perfect place to reignite your wanderlust. And the best part? Its history is just as captivating as its landscapes.

A land before time

Did you know Jersey's storied past stretches all the way back to the Ice Age? You can peel back the layers of this extraordinary era on the Heritage Ice Age Island trail, which journeys through La Cotte de St Brelade, one of Europe's most important Palaeolithic sites. Ripe for exploration, archaeologists still excavate here today in a bid to uncover more of its secrets.

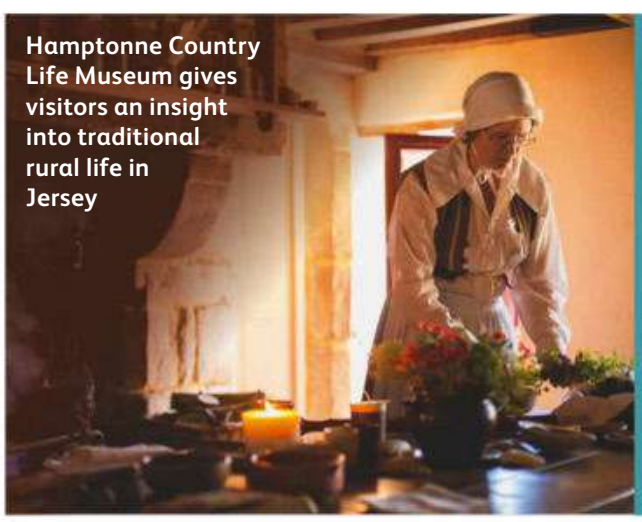
Continue your quest for adventure with a trip to the captivating La Hougue Bie Museum, home to the world's 10th oldest building – staggeringly, it predates the Egyptian pyramids! The site is home to medieval chapels and a thrilling Neolithic passage runs beneath the mound, opening into a dolmen that was used for ceremonies more than 5,000 years ago.

Jersey through the ages

Nestled between France and Britain, beautiful Jersey has been the object of both countries' affections in the past, and you can delve deeper into the island's ties with continental Europe at Mont Orgueil, a well-preserved medieval castle on the east coast. The panoramic views from its tower are truly breath-taking and stretch as far as Normandy.

Come the Second World War, the island's location left it susceptible to a German invasion. Learn more about what life was like during those five years by following the Occupation Trail and visiting the Jersey War Tunnels Museum, where you can explore 1,000m of the network built by prisoners. It now houses a moving exhibition about the period, too.

Unsurprisingly, Jersey also has a proud maritime history. Take a trip to its charming coastlines and marvel at some of the most attractive lighthouses you'll ever see, including the iconic La Corbière. Or, fancy watching the tide rush in from the comfort of an 18th-century fortress? When you book a one-of-a-kind stay at the Archirondel Tower or Seymour Tower through Jersey Heritage Lets, you can do exactly that.



Hamptonne Country Life Museum gives visitors an insight into traditional rural life in Jersey

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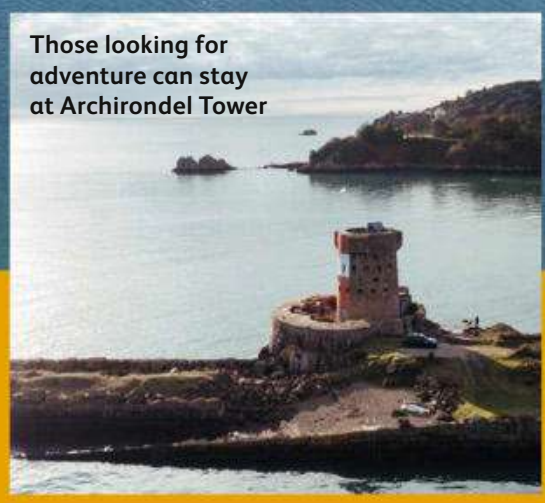


Those looking for adventure can stay at Archirondel Tower

Your home from home

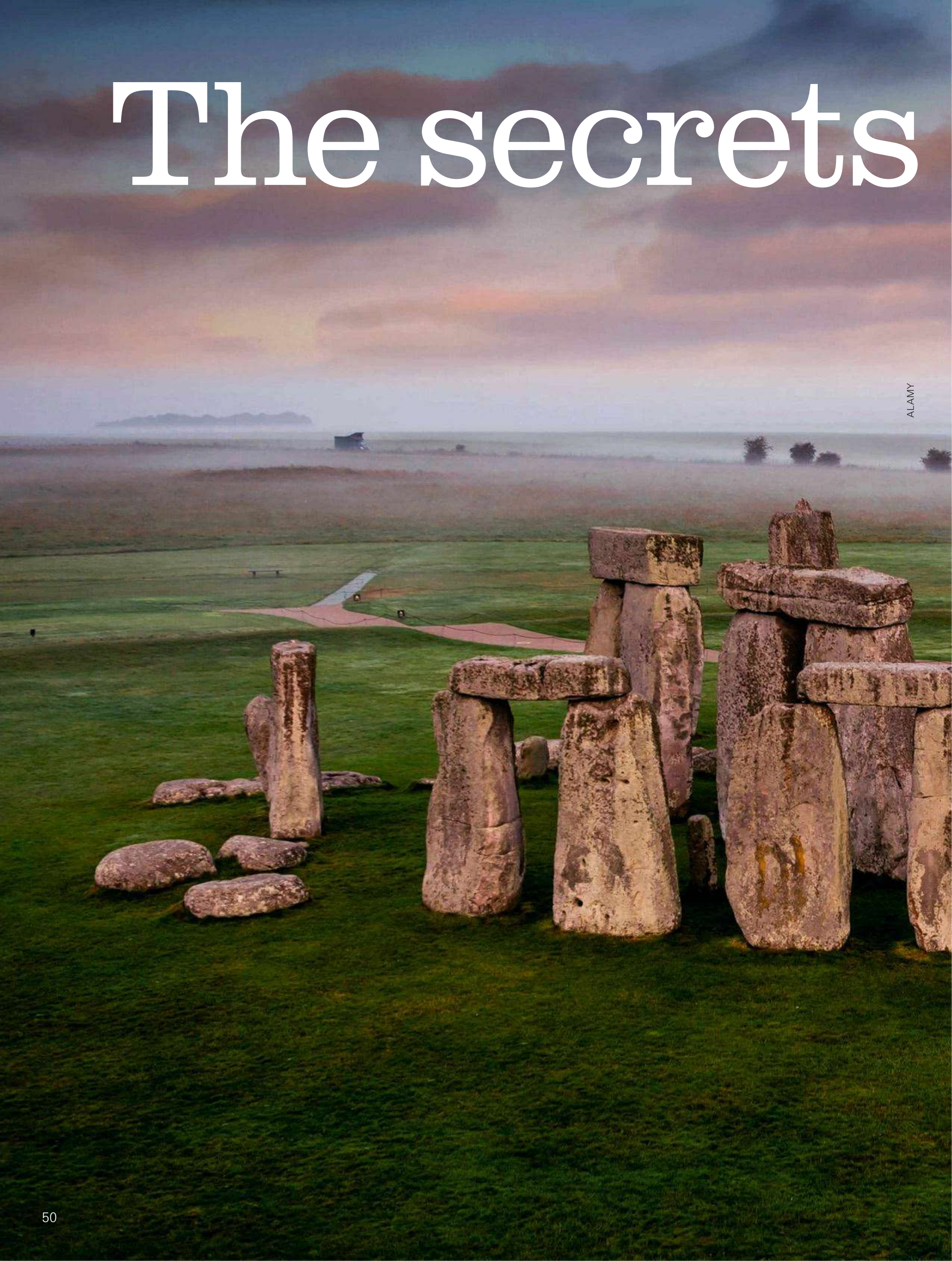
What makes Jersey the best holiday destination on your doorstep? For one thing, it's the sunniest spot in the British Isles. You can also fly direct to Jersey from several airports across the country in under an hour or take a ferry ride from Poole or Portsmouth. Please note there are comprehensive health and safety measures in place for your arrival. For the latest travel information, visit **jersey.com**

Jersey. Curiously Brit ...(ish)

Jersey

Plan your island escape now at **jersey.com**

The secrets

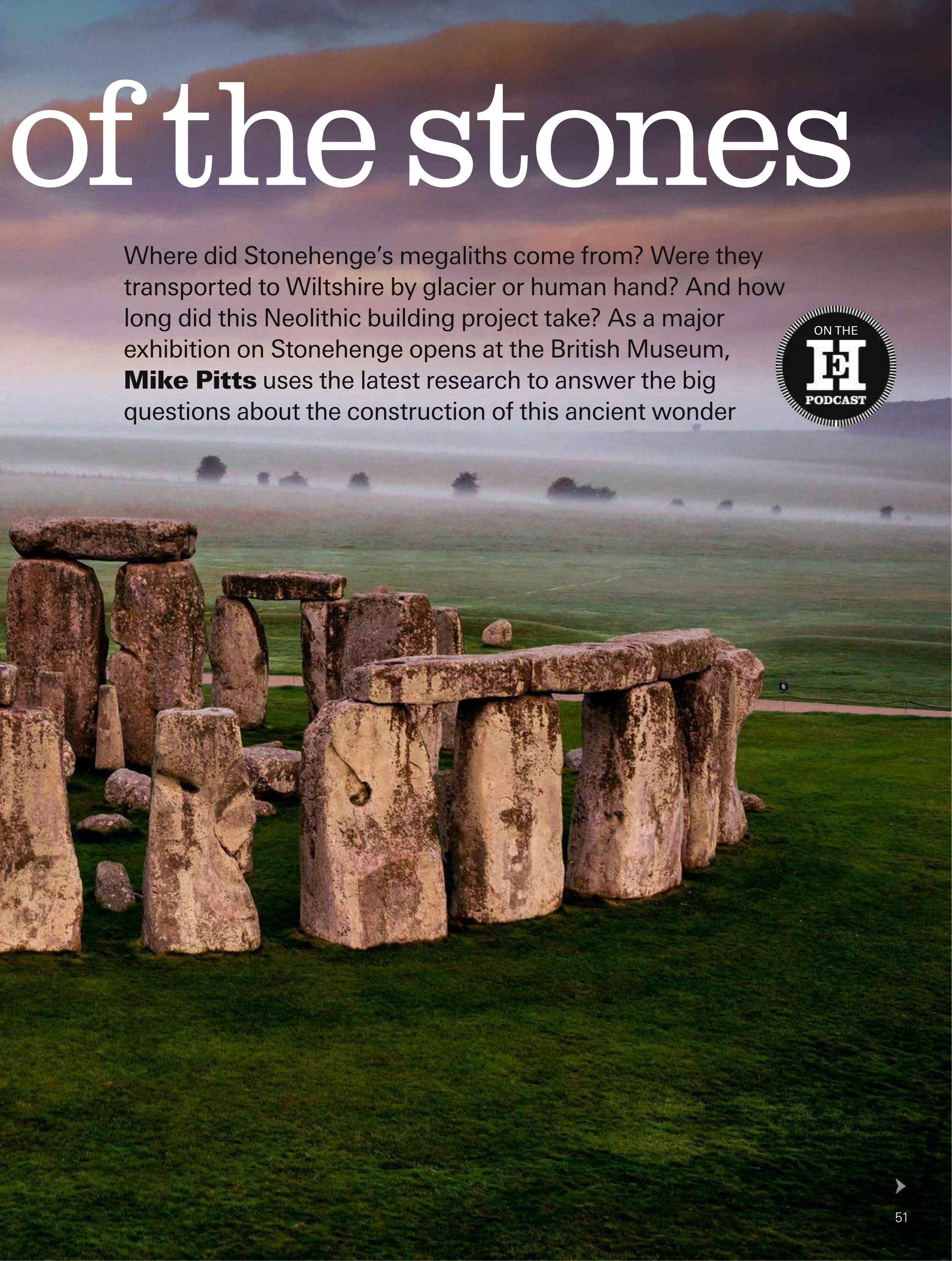


ALAMY

of the stones

Where did Stonehenge's megaliths come from? Were they transported to Wiltshire by glacier or human hand? And how long did this Neolithic building project take? As a major exhibition on Stonehenge opens at the British Museum, **Mike Pitts** uses the latest research to answer the big questions about the construction of this ancient wonder

ON THE EH PODCAST



Blue remembered hills
Dolerite rocks lie jumbled in the Preseli Hills, Pembrokeshire, south-west Wales. Such rocks were quarried in these hills 5,000 years ago and transported to Stonehenge, where they're known as bluestones

1 Where on Earth did the stones come from?

New technology is pinpointing the sources of the huge monoliths

Stonehenge shouldn't be there. Its great standing stones – their total weight originally equivalent to that of 13 blue whales – loom starkly from a landscape without rock outcrops. So where were they quarried?

The 12th-century historian Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote that giants had carried the megaliths from Africa to Ireland, and that Merlin then took them on to Salisbury Plain. Others such as the 16th-century lawyer John Rastell thought the stones had been moulded on the spot out of cement.

The 18th-century antiquary William Stukeley observed that not all of the stones were of the same type. He agreed with an earlier suggestion that the largest – sandstone blocks known as sarsens – hailed from near Marlborough, about 20 miles north of Stonehenge. But what of the other, smaller monoliths known as bluestones?

Africa and Ireland continued to be suggested as possible sources. One theory posited that they had arrived with ancient Greek tin traders, used as ballast in their ships. Perhaps they came from Brittany or Finland; British sources mooted included Dartmoor and Edinburgh. Then, in 1921, geologist Herbert Thomas established that Stonehenge's bluestones had been quarried from the Preseli Hills in Pembrokeshire. But how did they get to Stonehenge? Were they transported by Neolithic people, or could they have been carried east by glaciers?

Thomas had no doubt that humans were responsible, and most experts since have agreed. However, the glacier theory lingers, supported less by solid geological evidence than by disbelief that anyone would have travelled so far – 150 miles in a straight line – to source these megaliths some 5,000 years ago when they were quarried.

Over the past few years, new lab technologies have enabled geologists Richard Bevins and Rob Ixer to confirm that Pembrokeshire was indeed the main source of the bluestones. They have identified two outcrops in the Preseli Hills – Craig Rhos-y-felin and Carn Goedog – that were the sites of megalithic quarries for two specific types of bluestone known at Stonehenge.

Yet not all of Stonehenge's bluestones were sourced from Pembrokeshire. Bevins and Ixer believe that the Altar Stone, a unique greenish sandstone megalith lying flat near the centre of Stonehenge, came from elsewhere. Their research suggests that it's probably from eastern Wales or the Marches, though they haven't ruled out another, more distant source.

Stone cold certainty

But what of Stonehenge's sarsens? These were, it seems, collected around 2,500 BC – five centuries later than the bluestones. Sarsen is almost pure silica, making examples from one location all but identical to another – so defeating traditional geological attempts to use variations within the stones to help identify sources. Now, though, science has again come to the rescue, thanks to the work of David Nash of Brighton University and a technology called portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF).

Nash's team analysed the surfaces of the sarsens at Stonehenge, firing radiation from a gadget the size of a hair dryer. By studying X-rays reflected back, they created a geological "fingerprint" that showed all the stones to be very similar to each other.

A further breakthrough arrived when a metre-long rod, or core, of sarsen unexpectedly turned up in Florida. This core was originally drilled from a Stonehenge trilithon during conservation work back in 1958; Robert Phillips, who'd been on the job, had taken it with him when he moved to the United States. In 2018, Phillips offered it back to English Heritage – and Nash and his team stepped in. Now they could compare a Stonehenge megalith with sarsen boulders they had sampled across southern England, crushing up the rock and applying sophisticated geochemical analyses.

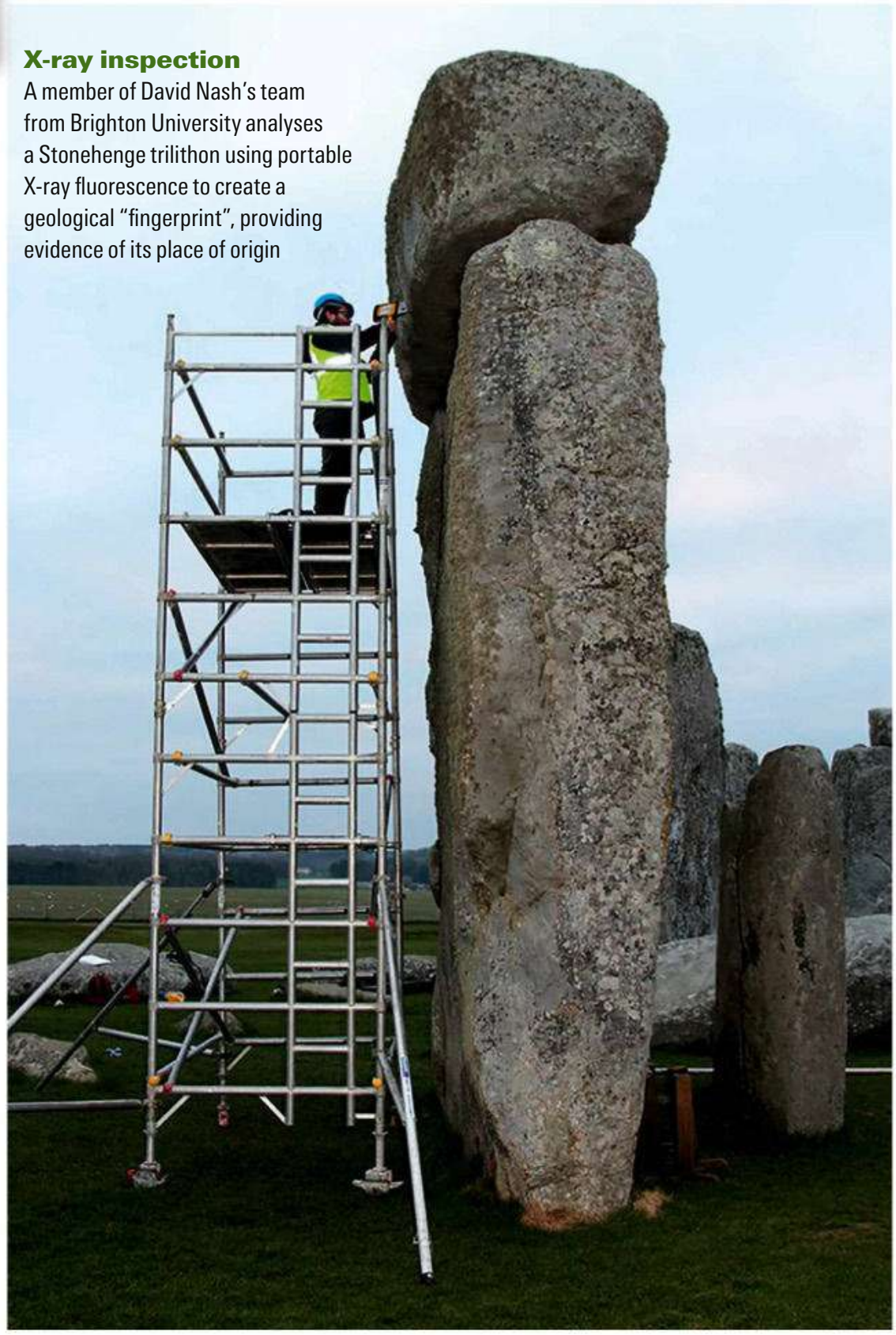
The only match for the megalith was in West Woods, on the edge of the Marlborough Downs. So this is the source of the Florida core – and, by implication, all the other Stonehenge sarsens, which pXRF had shown to be so alike.

ALAMY

Core belief FROM TOP: Conservation work undertaken at Stonehenge in 1958 involved drilling a slender stone core from one of the sarsens. Analysis of the core, returned to England in 2018, enabled David Nash's team to pinpoint the source of that sarsen

Origin story
West Woods, on the edge of the Marlborough Downs, 15–20 miles north of Stonehenge, is the likely source of the monument's huge sarsen stones

X-ray inspection
A member of David Nash's team from Brighton University analyses a Stonehenge trilithon using portable X-ray fluorescence to create a geological "fingerprint", providing evidence of its place of origin



Stonehenge glossary

Sarsens Stonehenge's largest stones. They weighed between 4 and 40 tonnes and were quarried on the Marlborough Downs, 15–20 miles north of the site
Bluestones These smaller stones weighed between 1 and 4 tonnes and are believed to have been transported to Stonehenge from the Preseli Hills in west Wales
Megalith A large standing stone
Trilithon A free-standing structure consisting of two upright stones and a third across the top (which is known as the **Lintel**)
Dressing The act of sculpting the individual stones into a desired shape using smaller boulders of hard sarsen

KATY WHITAKER–HISTORIC ENGLAND–UNIVERSITY OF READING/ DAVID NASH–UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON/JULIET BRAIN, SAM FROST–ENGLISH HERITAGE/HISTORIC ENGLAND ARCHIVE

2 How were the stones transported to their current site?

Sea and river voyages have been proposed – but human-powered overland treks seem most likely

Moving stones weighing up to 4 tonnes from the hills of west Wales to the plains of southern England would be a mighty undertaking even in the 21st century. That our Neolithic ancestors achieved the feat seems mind-blowing.

Yet achieve it they did. Herbert Thomas suggested that the bluestones had been hauled along an overland route of 170–180 miles, passing north of Gloucester to avoid the Severn estuary – the crossing, he thought, would have been too dangerous.

However, many archaeologists disagreed, favouring the theory that the stones had been transported by water. They argued that the Altar Stone had been quarried at Milford Haven, a natural harbour a day's walk south of the Preseli Hills, and that this would have been the departure point for transport by sea. The voyage might have hugged the coast to the Bristol Channel, then taken one of two routes: following English rivers to Stonehenge, sledging the short land sections; or continuing south-west along the coast, around Land's End, east to Christchurch harbour and then up the river Avon.

On the face of it, transporting the sarsens would have been far easier. They had to travel only 15–20 miles south overland from the Marlborough Downs. But sarsens are far bigger than bluestones, weighing in at between 4 and 40 tonnes compared with the 1–4-tonne bluestones. What's more, the sarsens were artificially shaped, and some of that carving would have been carried out on site, so they would have been heavier when they were transported.

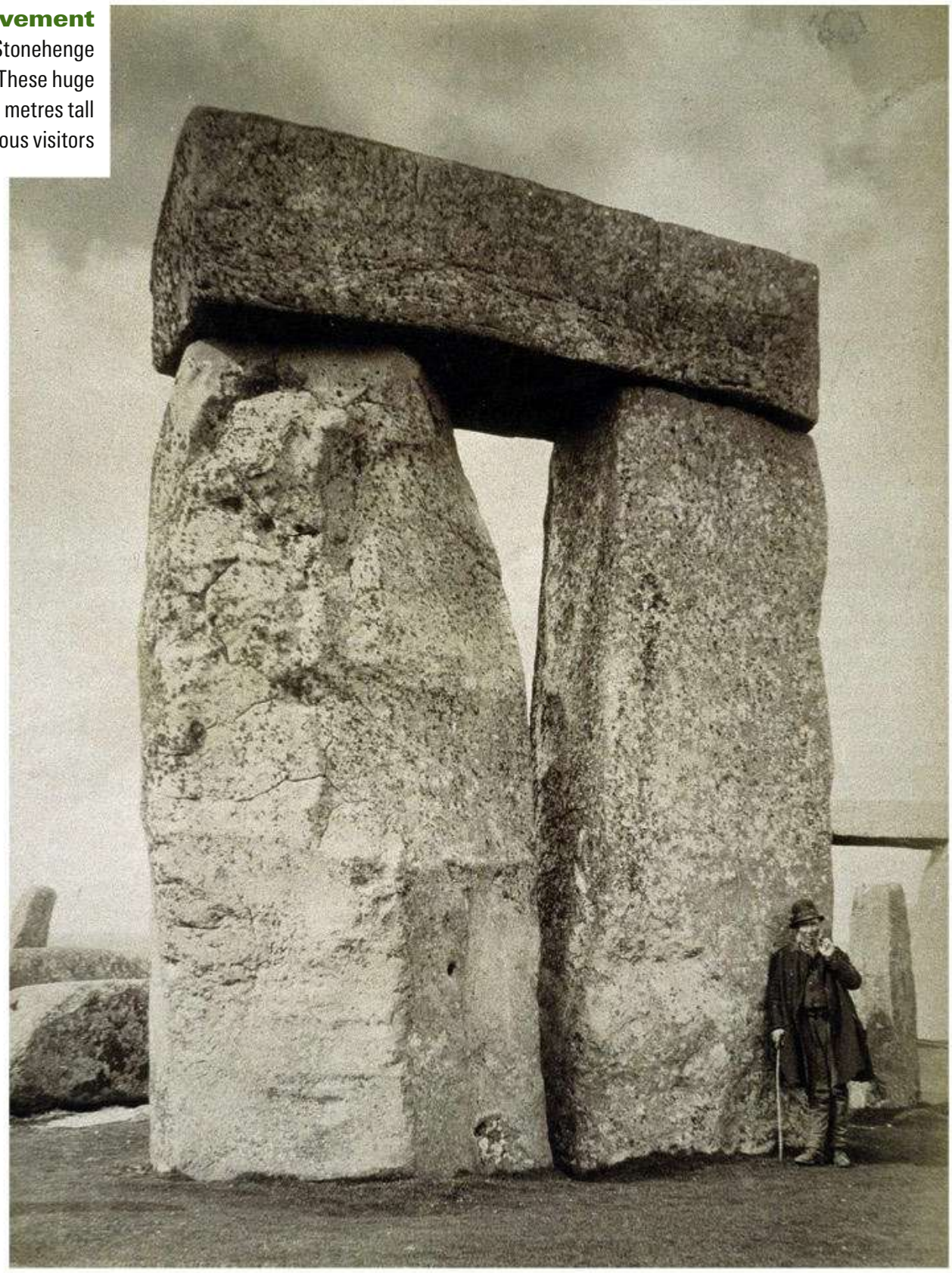
Many archaeologists have envisioned men with ropes pulling stones across rolling logs. This idea has featured in TV programmes and numerous experiments, and is enshrined today in a full-scale model at Stonehenge. Yet research carried out by Barney Harris, an archaeologist at University College London, has cast doubt on this theory. Experiments, along with observations of people moving megaliths in Indonesia, demonstrate that rollers are uncontrollable; stationary sleepers or fixed tracks would be required.

Due to the stones' vast size and irregular shapes, a sledge would have been essential. The biggest loads would have weighed more than 45 tonnes, which could be pulled only along a fixed trackway. The scale of this operation, particularly the volume of timber required, must have been unmatched in Europe at the time.

It's easier to envisage the transport of the smaller bluestones, dragged on sledges over

MAP ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL HEWITT–BATTLEFIELD DESIGN

Towering achievement
A shepherd poses beneath a Stonehenge trilithon in a 19th-century photo. These huge structures – soaring more than 6 metres tall – have long drawn curious visitors



The scale of this transport operation must have been unmatched in Europe at the time

sleepers or perhaps even carried with poles or wooden frames; such methods have been recorded in north-east India.

The road to ruins

This is what I propose as a possible route taken by the bluestones. Following river valleys and avoiding frequent crossings and steep slopes, we traverse Wales beside the rivers Taf and Tywi, rise to near the source of the Usk north of the Brecon Beacons, and follow that river to the sea. We then paddle across the Severn estuary – a quite feasible crossing that saves us from having to climb the Cotswolds (which a more northerly crossing would necessitate). We continue along the Bristol Avon, perhaps still by boat, and reach Stonehenge via rivers and land, with a total journey of 220 miles.

By the same principles – track river valleys, avoid steep climbs – there is only one option for the sarsens: head south to the edge of the Marlborough Downs, drop into the Vale of Pewsey and follow the Avon Valley (which avoids Salisbury Plain's forbidding escarpment), reaching Stonehenge in 17 miles.

In the frame People in north-east India prepare to carry a megalith on a wooden frame in a 1920s photograph. Might a similar method have been used to move bluestones to Stonehenge?

Sledge of reason
A concrete block weighing three-quarters of a tonne is strapped to a wooden sledge as part of a 2016 experiment into technology used to build prehistoric monuments

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES/PITT RIVERS MUSEUM–UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD/
JOHN HENRY HUTTON-PITT RIVERS MUSEUM

3 How did the sarsens get their distinctive shape?

Incredibly hard stones were shaped without the use of metal tools

Get close to Stonehenge and you'll see that the stones are carved. Other megaliths across north-west Europe have artificially smoothed faces, but at Stonehenge the builders went further, removing quantities of rock to shape the stones to a more or less standard pattern. Not only that, but several of the sarsens are connected one to another with mortice-and-tenon or tongue-and-groove joints – techniques we can only assume were borrowed from timber construction.

Squared lintels and, in one case, stone joints are prominent in medieval illustrations of Stonehenge, but it wasn't until 1901 that anyone seriously addressed how they were carved. In that year, the first scientific excavation at the site determined that the stones had been raised before iron tools were available; it also found stone tools that had been used in the work.

Archaeologists then looked at how sarsens on the Marlborough Downs had been shaped in more recent times: with fire and water in the 17th and 18th centuries, and with steel tools in the 19th and early 20th. They assumed that natural sarsen slabs of more or less megalithic shape would have been available to our Neolithic predecessors on site, and thus that the main tasks they would have been confronted with were edge-trimming followed by selective smoothing. The former might have been achieved by pouring cold water onto lines of burning wood on the stone; the sudden change in temperature would crack the stone. (There is no evidence that this process was used, though.) The stones would have been shaped by hammering with mauls – small boulders of very hard sarsen, up to the size of a football. Finishing and jointing, said the archaeologists, would be done by laboriously pounding to remove stone dust.

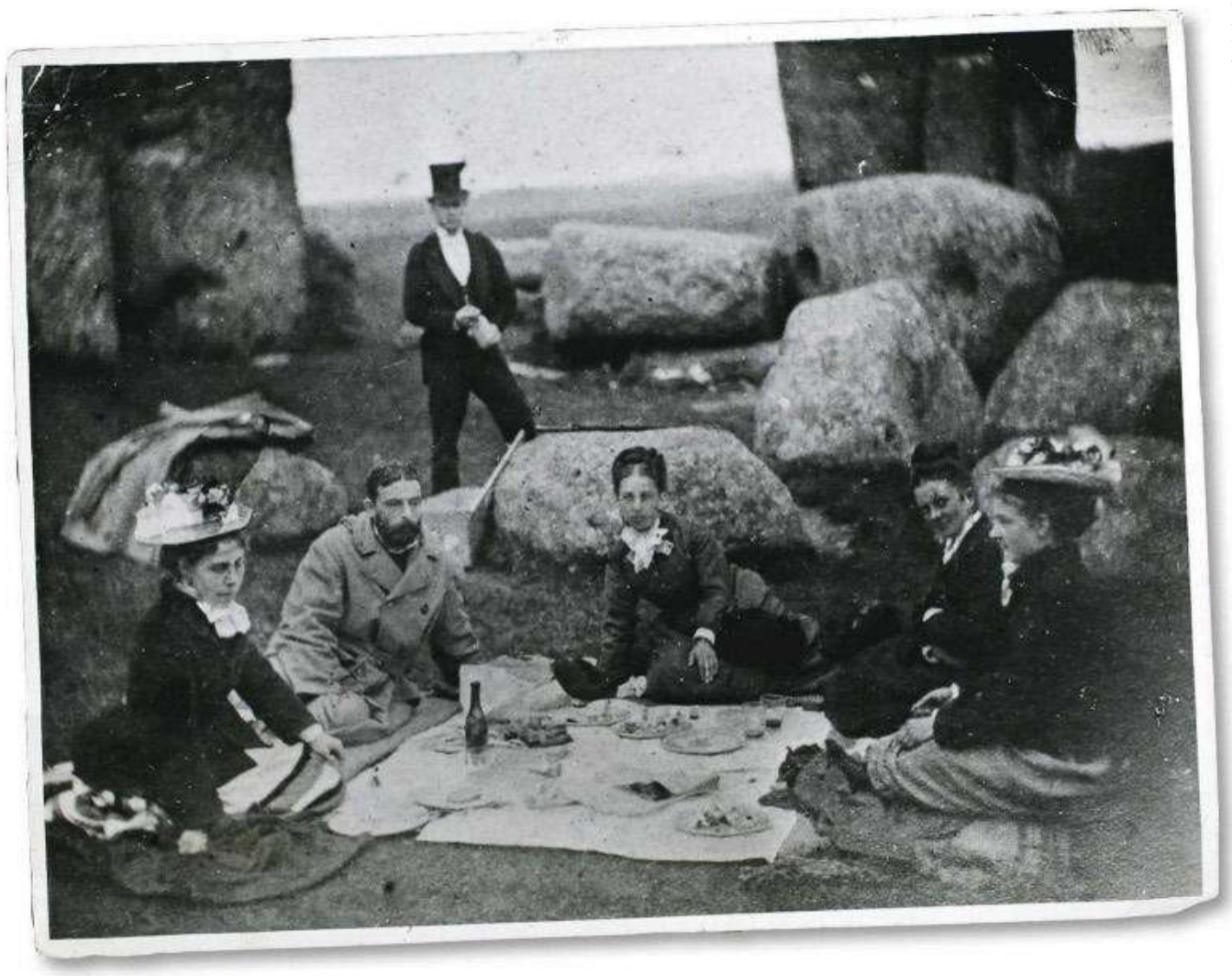
High-tech revelations

Our understanding of Neolithic techniques has improved with the development of our own technology, which has enabled the first comprehensive examination of the megaliths. By bouncing laser light off the stones and converting the data into precise distance measurements, scientists have built 3D digital models of the megaliths – and these have revealed that the sarsens were almost totally dressed. Archaeologists Marcus Abbott and Hugo Anderson-Whymark distinguished between four stages in the dressing process, employing progressively smaller hammers: first, heavy shaping at source, then coarse preparation, finishing and jointing on site. (These stages must have created large amounts of silica dust in the air, making silicosis a health hazard for those working on the stones.)

Though most of the bluestones were undressed, those now in the central horseshoe arrangement (see aerial view opposite), plus a few in an outer ring, were finely carved. This was probably done using similar techniques to those used in the dressing of the sarsens.

Another aspect revealed by the laser study is just how much damage was inflicted on the stones by 18th and 19th-century souvenir hunters. When first carved, most megaliths would have had sharper corners than they do today.

Squaring the circle
The huge, very hard sarsens of Stonehenge were carefully shaped to create rectangular blocks with well-defined edges and smooth surfaces



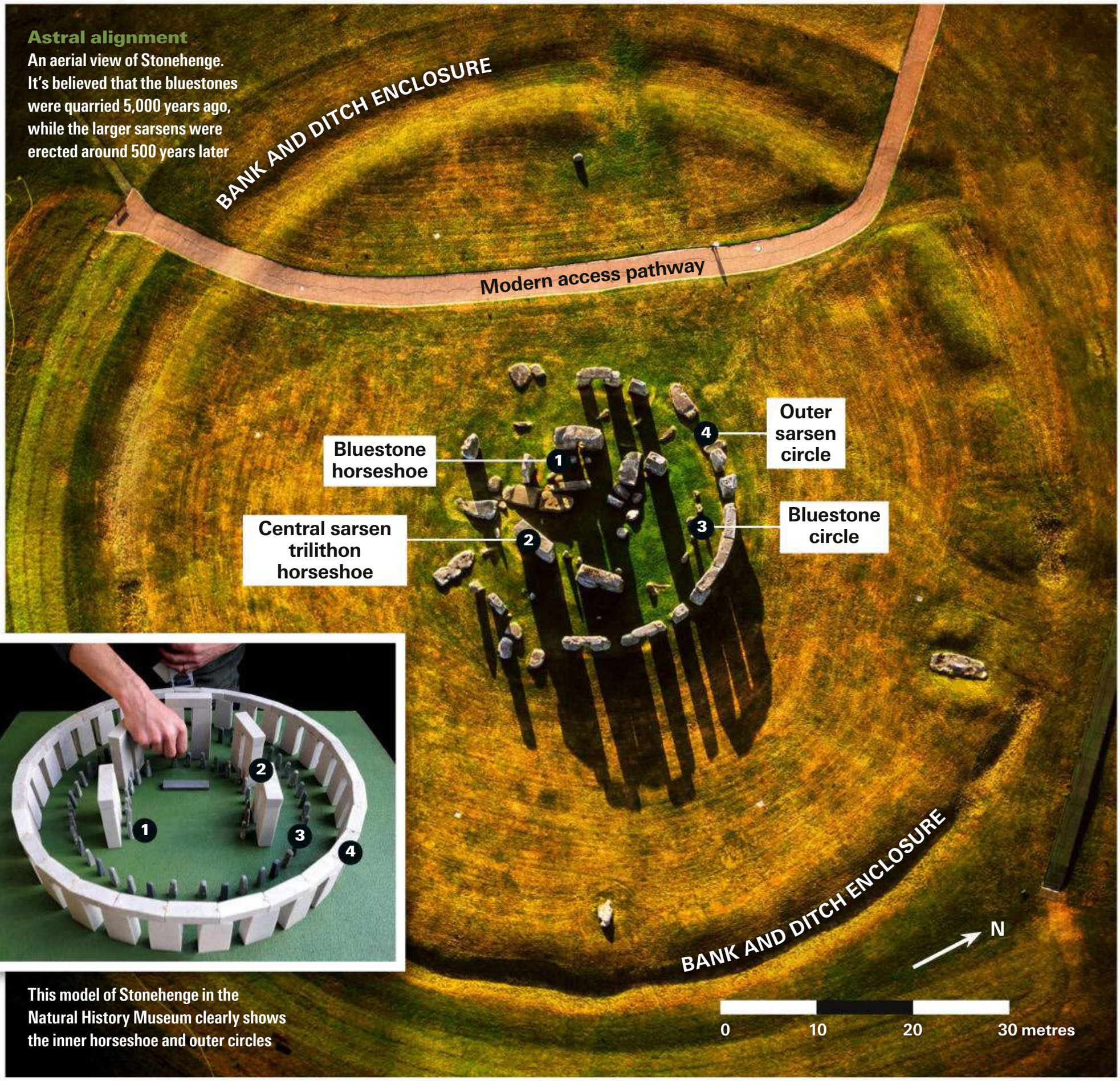
Eating out
Victorians picnic among fallen stones at Stonehenge in 1875. Souvenir hunters wrought significant damage to the site in the 18th and 19th centuries

Our understanding of Neolithic stone-working techniques has improved with the development of our own technology

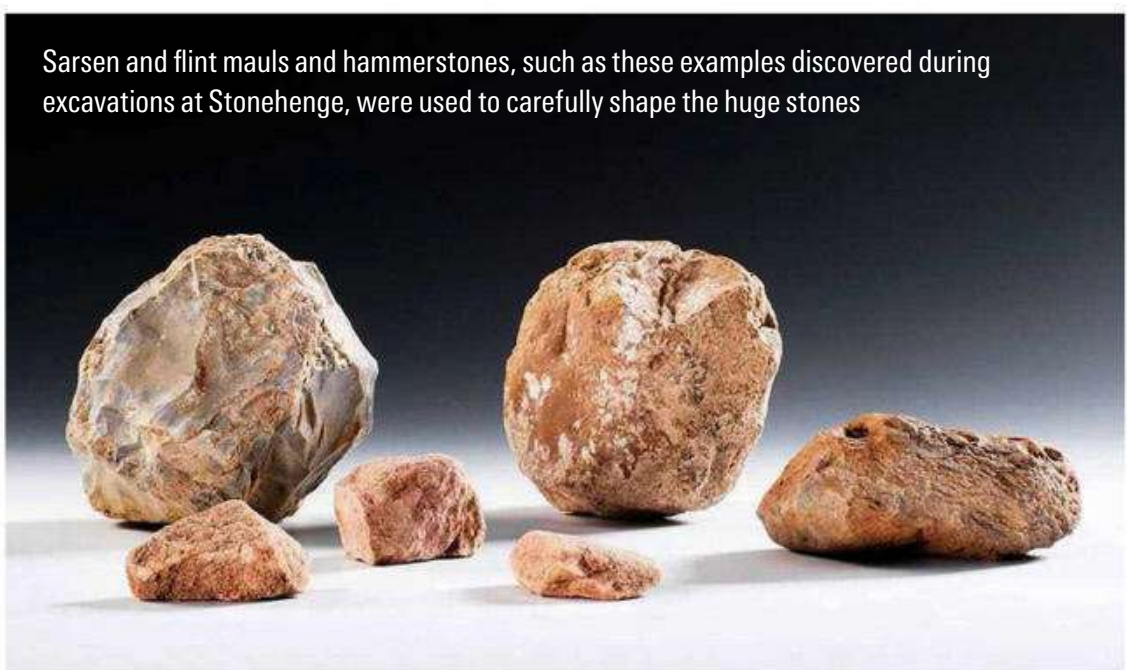
ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

Astral alignment

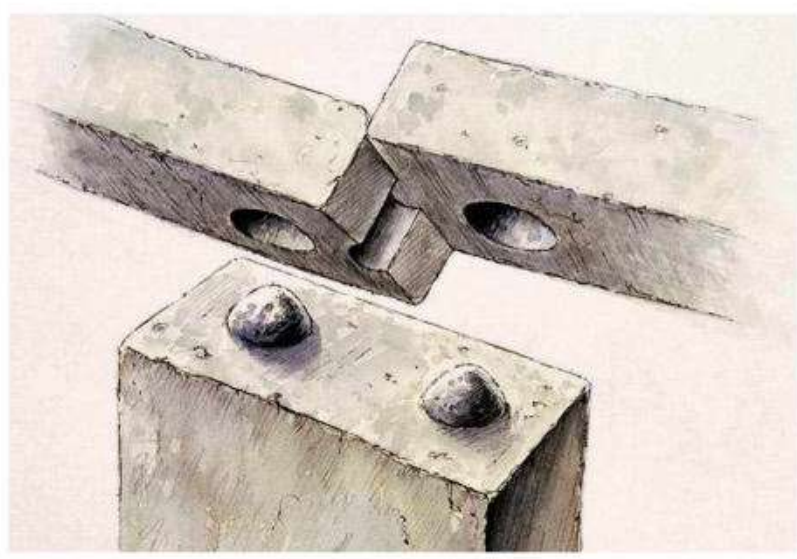
An aerial view of Stonehenge. It's believed that the bluestones were quarried 5,000 years ago, while the larger sarsens were erected around 500 years later



This model of Stonehenge in the Natural History Museum clearly shows the inner horseshoe and outer circles

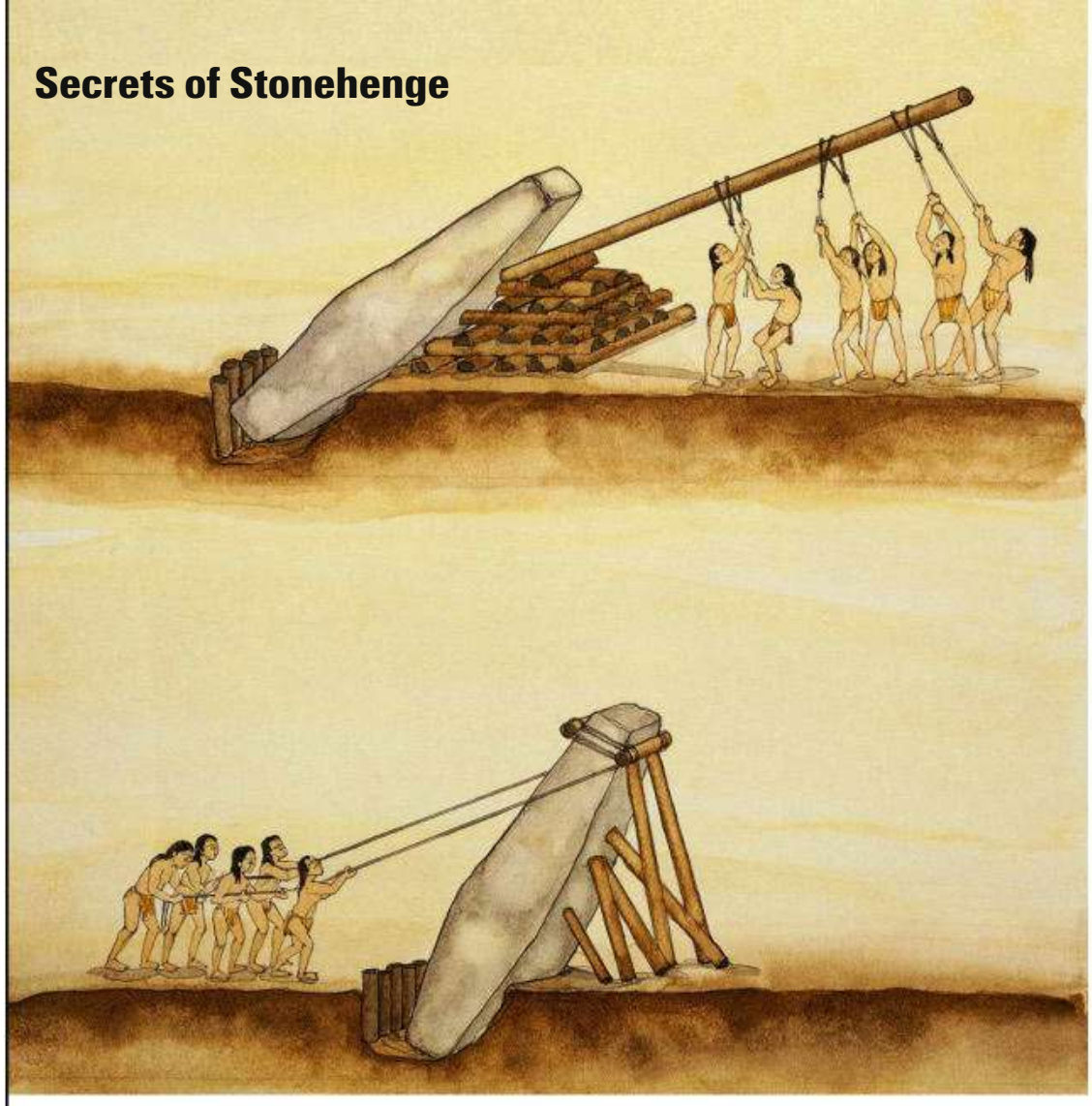


Sarsen and flint mauls and hammerstones, such as these examples discovered during excavations at Stonehenge, were used to carefully shape the huge stones



Stone lintels were fitted securely onto the top of megaliths with mortice-and-tenon joints, and to each other with tongue-and-groove joints, as shown in this modern illustration

ALAMY/SALISBURY MUSEUM/SHUTTERSTOCK, REMOVE SALISBURY MUSEUM, ADD ALAMY, HISTORIC ENGLAND AND MIKE PITTS



Raising the ring
LEFT: An illustration indicates how a sarsen may have been levered into place, gradually building a wood pile beneath one end to slowly tip the stone into the pit before pulling it upright with ropes
BELOW: One theory proposed in 1924 posits that a set of sheer legs – a wooden A-frame – was used to help haul each sarsen stone upright

4 How did Neolithic engineers erect these huge stones?

Logs and levers were probably used to raise sarsen stones

So you've accomplished the unimaginably arduous task of transporting the stones to their new home in what's now southern Wiltshire. Now you need to get them in place and upright. Most modern theories on how this was achieved were shaped by a 1924 book by the aptly named Herbert Stone. A retired engineer, Stone described in detail the creation of the sarsen circle, demonstrating his ideas with working models.

Stone's workmen tipped a fully carved megalith down a ramp into a pit. They then tied its top to a set of sheerlegs (a timber A-frame) and hauled it upright using ropes attached to the top of the frame. This process is depicted in English Heritage's Stonehenge guidebook, and has been used in several experiments, notably for a 1990s BBC/PBS film involving two full-scale concrete megaliths. Yet it would have been impossible.

Let's start at the beginning. We know that Neolithic people built large oak structures, some comparable to Stonehenge, so would have applied lessons learned from working with timber. In the stone monument, the sides of 30 lintels in a perfect circle curve to fit the ring. Such carving could only have been done when the lintels were still on the ground, and the ring must have been made first, assembled and then moved out of the way before pits were dug.

All erection experiments, from Stone's models to the concrete giants that appeared in the TV documentaries, have been carried out in a field. But Stonehenge was a building site. The largest stones – the horseshoe of five trilithons (10 huge megaliths and five lintels) at the centre of the site – had to go up first; the stones were too big to pass through gaps in the outer circle. When it came to raising that circle, there was no space on the inside for sheer legs and gangs of pullers, nor to lie megaliths on the ground inside the circle to lift using sheerlegs on the outside. There had to be another way.

Polynesian precedent

I found a clue in a demonstration conducted on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in 1986 for Norwegian adventurer Thor Heyerdahl. A horizontal stone moai (monolithic human figure) was rocked with levers, and then rubble was packed in space created beneath the head end. This growing mound raised the moai to a near-vertical position, from where a light pull on ropes finished the job.

William Gowland, the archaeologist who directed the 1901 excavation at Stonehenge, proposed something similar here: a process using long wooden levers to lift the sarsens, piling up logs until each megalith slipped upright into its pit.

Herbert Stone thought that the lintels had been dragged up mounds heaped against the megaliths, but there are signs of neither mounds nor the necessary quarry pits. So Gowland's method also appears more plausible for the installation of the lintels. One end of a lintel is raised with levers, and logs placed underneath. The same is done to the other end, then again at the first, repeating until the lintel is level with the top of standing megaliths, when it is slid across.

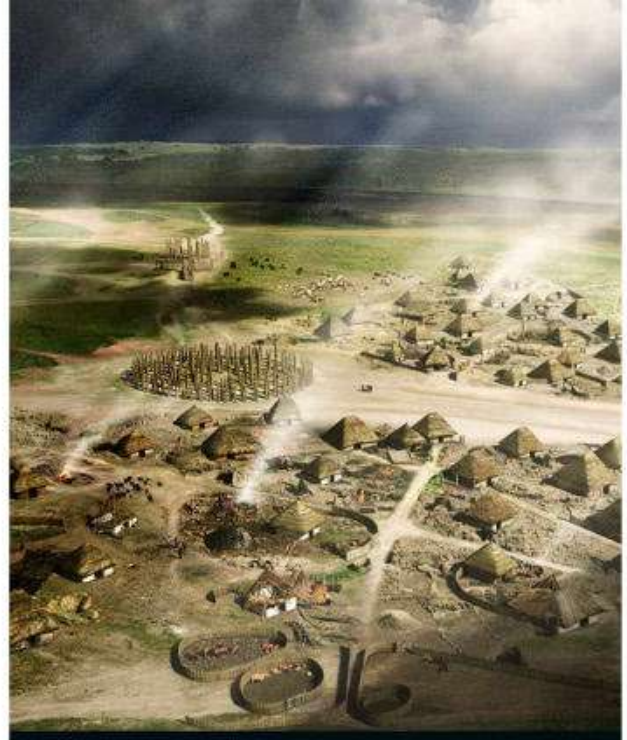
The tops of the megaliths needed to be perfectly level to support the lintels. Stone argued that the correct heights would have been achieved by digging pits at different depths according to the size of each stone – but, with each stone typically weighing 20 tonnes, it would have been impossible to do this with any level of precision. Instead, the megaliths could have been erected to a slightly greater height than needed, and the tops then cut level with one other.

A moai (stone figure) is raised into place on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) with levers and ropes in 1986. Could such a process have been used at Stonehenge?

GETTY IMAGES/HERITAGE ENGLAND

5 How long did Stonehenge take to build?

Construction of the monument may have been surprisingly rapid



A modern illustration imagines the Neolithic settlement at Durrington Walls, where workers on Stonehenge gathered during the build in c2500 BC

The site we now call Stonehenge evolved over several hundred years. The first ditch-and-bank earthwork henge, together with a large ring of bluestones, was created around 3000 BC. These stones were later arranged nearer the centre. Around 2500 BC they were removed, the sarsens were installed, and the bluestones were replaced among them. But how long did each period of construction actually take? Is it possible to calculate how many hours this massive Neolithic construction project swallowed?

Such intangibles are hard to pin down. No one has carved a megalith, nor moved a bluestone to Wiltshire, since Neolithic times. Even so, thinking on the time and effort that went into creating the world-famous monument has evolved over the past few decades.

Archaeologist Richard Atkinson, who directed excavations at Stonehenge in the 1950s and 60s, estimated that it would have taken 1,500 men 10 years to fetch the sarsens from the Marlborough Downs. Fifty masons must then have worked 10-hour days non-stop for two years and nine months just to shape them, he believed.

In 1961, Canadian geologist Patrick Arthur Hill was less daunted by the logistical challenges. He calculated that 25 men could have pulled a 50-tonne sarsen to Stonehenge in less than a week – if they dragged it over snow. Hill's idea remains popular, but it's worth noting that he was inspired by Inuit sledges crossing Arctic sea ice, not a frosty crust in an English winter.

More recently, engineers interested in efficiency have taken up the case: you can watch YouTube videos showing people competing to move, erect and lift stones with as few hands as possible. But was efficiency even a consideration in the construction of Stonehenge – a monument that, let's not forget, defies all economic sense? Recently, archaeologists have been looking at practices in places such Madagascar, north-east India and the Indonesian island of Sumba, where people have been raising stones for generations. In those areas the goal – or, at least, the effect – seems to be to have as many people on the job as possible. A good crowd brings status for organisers and sponsors, and participants share in the fun, accumulating credits for their work.

Ancient efficiency

The difficulties of creating Stonehenge are sometimes exaggerated. Megaliths weighed less than Atkinson thought, and excavations reveal that Neolithic people were skilled engineers, carpenters and stoneworkers. On the other hand, we suspect they liked to party, as people do today when moving a stone on Sumba. Bluestones would have passed through villages to be seen and celebrated. There is evidence for feasting at Durrington Walls near Stonehenge, where it is thought as many as 4,000 people gathered for the great build.

Taking all that into account, here's a plausible scenario for the timescale of construction. Setting out with a bluestone from the Preseli Hills in late summer, a team of 25–30 (picking up others en route) could have reached the Bristol Channel in 45 days – 30 if using a boat down the lower river Usk. Crossing the sea, paddling upriver and moving to a sledge as necessary, they'd arrive on site by mid-October, two months after departure.

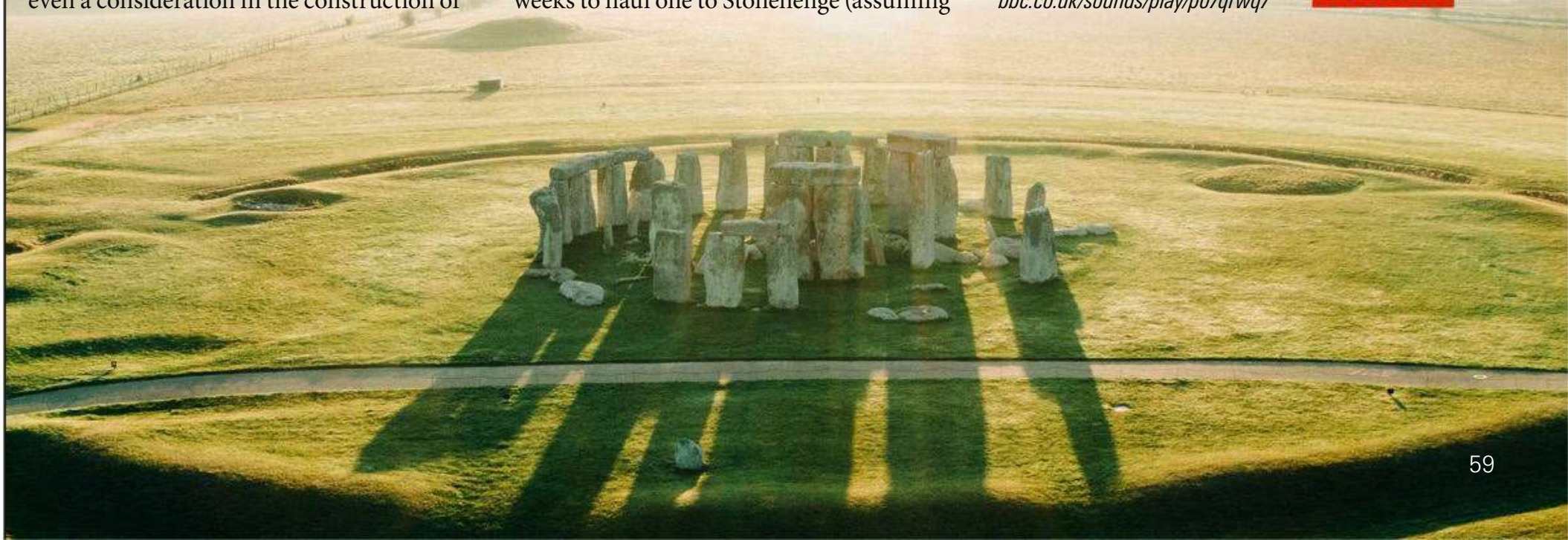
Moving a sarsen demanded more effort: perhaps 200–300 people would take a few weeks to haul one to Stonehenge (assuming a track was in place). So a thousand workers could have moved all of the sarsens in 6–18 months – or perhaps twice that long, depending on rituals and extraneous events.

Dressing-time is almost impossible to estimate. The required shape of one megalith depended on that of another, and the project had to maintain momentum. Erecting trilithons and fitting lintels could be done in one season; with 1,000 people working in 15 teams of 60–70, the circle could be constructed the next season. The whole thing might, then, have been completed in five spectacular, never-to-be-forgotten years. H

Mike Pitts is an archaeologist specialising in the study of British prehistory. His new book, *How to Build Stonehenge* (Thames & Hudson, 2022), is out now. He recently discussed Stonehenge on an episode of the HistoryExtra podcast: *historyextra.com/podcast*

VISIT For more on the human story behind the construction of this Neolithic wonder, visit **The World of Stonehenge** exhibition at the British Museum, running 17 February–17 July. *britishmuseum.org/exhibitions/world-stonehenge*

LISTEN Stonehenge was the subject of a recent episode of the BBC podcast **You're Dead to Me**. Listen at: *bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p07qrwq7*



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BBC at 100 PART 3

Captivating little citizens

The BBC has always been eager to create shows for children, but at first their programmes were often more preachy than action-packed. **DAVID HENDY** explores how *Blue Peter* transformed the corporation's child-friendly offering

ON THE EI PODCAST

National treasure
When Leila Williams (top) presented the first episode of *Blue Peter* in 1958, it was met with little fanfare. But the show soon became a cherished institution, with animals like Petra the dog (bottom) beloved by young viewers

> "Faced with a ratings crisis, the BBC realised that eight to 12 year olds wanted action on their screens – not *Jane Eyre* serials"

At 5 o'clock on Thursday 16 October 1958, in homes across Britain millions of children, some sprawled lazily across living room floors and others perched eagerly on settees, were introduced to a brand-new television programme. *Blue Peter* promised its young viewers "Toys, model railways, games, stories, [and] cartoons" in a weekly 15-minute show presented live from the BBC studios by Christopher Trace and Leila Williams.

The launch was strikingly low-key. There were no special features in the *Radio Times*, which seemed far more excited about the final of Miss World. In any case, the new series was just one more children's programme among many. That same week viewers just back from school could also lap up Sooty and Sweep, *Children's Newsreel*, a "sketch club", several quizzes, some astronomy with Patrick Moore, or a wildlife show presented by Armand and Michaela Denis "on safari" in Africa. Earlier in the day, younger viewers might have seen *Watch with Mother*, featuring a rota of puppet characters from Andy Pandy through to the Flower Pot Men.

But if *Blue Peter*'s debut went largely unnoticed, it would eventually become the most iconic children's programme on British television. Its distinctive formula – described by one of its producers as striving to "lift [children's] horizons and stretch them a little bit, give them information that they wouldn't know about in an amusing way and, through drama, to stretch their emotions" – would also become a symbol of the BBC's determination to treat its viewers as citizens rather than consumers.

The BBC had always been keen to create content for children. In the 1920s, there'd been a daily *Children's Hour* from Savoy Hill, and a *Kiddies' Corner* from both the Manchester station, 2ZY, and the Birmingham station, 5IT, each of which featured readings, drama sketches, competitions and talent shows.

Auntie knows best

Even in those pioneering days, however, the BBC's relationship with its younger audience was far from straightforward. John Reith had promised that it would provide every home with "the best" in ideas and culture. He'd also expressed a duty to avoid exposing the public to "things which are, or may be, hurtful". Children, especially, had to be introduced very gradually to the world and its wicked ways.

Derek McCulloch, who ruled over *Children's Hour* for decades as "Uncle Mac", saw his mission as instilling impressionable young listeners with Christian values of godliness and neighbourliness. The result was programmes that, while unthreatening, could also sound preachy and cloyingly middle-class. Years later, Broadcasting House decided that every episode of its hugely popular drama serial *Dick Barton – Special Agent* needed a postscript solemnly explaining the moral rights and wrongs involved in the latest narrative twists.

Behind this nannyish approach, though, lurked a more considered philosophy. The BBC line, widely believed both inside and outside the Corporation, was that there would always be better things to do than merely sit

Peter Purves, Valerie Singleton and John Noakes (L–R) became *Blue Peter*'s long-standing presenters

ALAMY/BBC/GETTY IMAGES

Generous gifts *Blue Peter* presenters Valerie Singleton and Christopher Trace sit with bags of donated toys in 1963. Its annual appeals were a key part of the show

GETTY IMAGES

and listen to the wireless or watch the screen for hours on end. As one senior television executive put it, the ultimate aim was "a constantly *diminishing* audience". Viewers, she said, should be "so stimulated to new activities that they had no time to turn on their sets".

Even when young viewers *did* turn on their televisions, it was important they be served what schedulers called "a full service in miniature". The BBC had long reasoned that adults would become more "rounded" citizens by being fed a "rich mix" of news, documentary, drama, comedy and debate. Why then would children, the citizens of the future, not benefit from the same variety?

The arrival of ITV in 1955 unsettled everything. The BBC had served the very youngest audiences reasonably well, but slightly older children and teenagers were quickly seduced by commercial TV's westerns and crime capers. No matter how well-intentioned or well-done, drama serials such as *Jane Eyre* were always going to struggle for their attention.

Faced with this ratings crisis, the BBC's new head of Children's Programmes, Owen Reed, recognised that the eight to 12-year-old age-group wanted plenty of action. *Children's Television Club*, which North Region had been running since 1956 – with its three presenters getting stuck in to activities such as riding go-karts, throwing pottery, or training "Conker" the dog – was exactly the kind of thing Reed was after. He now used Manchester's tried-and-tested formula as the basis for a new series in London. His hope was that *Blue Peter* would become an "all interest, active, action-based programme for children and adults of all ages".

Bumpy beginnings

Reed's brainchild got off to a bumpy start, not least because of absurdly tight budgets and a rapid turnover of staff. But in 1964 the programme was upgraded from one to two episodes a week. Three years later, its roster of presenters had settled into the sure-footed and long-running trio of Valerie Singleton, John Noakes and Peter Purves. By the 1970s, *Blue Peter* was woven tightly into the cultural fabric of the nation, the very embodiment of what might be called "progressive paternalism" in the realm of children's broadcasting.

Those watching at home were still protected from some of the horrors the world might throw at them. The idea of having a resident pet was nearly scuppered at the start when a mongrel puppy introduced to viewers just before Christmas 1962 died of distemper within days. To avoid unleashing hysteria, two producers secretly scoured the pet shops of London in search of a lookalike capable of scampering about happily in the studio by the time of the next broadcast. Viewers remained entirely ignorant of this well-meaning subterfuge, and later voted to name the hastily found replacement Petra.

Animals were key to *Blue Peter*'s success: the long line of dogs, cats and tortoises that followed Petra's own troubled debut were there to act as surrogate pets for all those children who didn't have ones of their own. Even more important was the programme's desire to empower young viewers by inventing lots of things for them to do. This meant a constant stream of basic food recipes or simple items that could be assembled from materials found at home – or which entailed the purchase of some sticky-backed-plastic.

There's also been the annual *Blue Peter*

appeal. According to Monica Sims, who ran Children's Television in the 1960s and '70s, the idea was to invite children "to understand the problems in the world through helping to solve them". *Blue Peter*, she explained, would give viewers this opportunity "not by asking for money, which of course a lot of them didn't have, but by collecting old scrap materials" – stamps, milk-bottle tops and the like.

Under the series' longest-serving editor, the formidable Biddy Baxter, *Blue Peter*'s success was built on its correspondence unit. Thousands of children's letters poured in every week. Each one was given a card index: if a child wrote a second time, the programme's bespoke reply would refer to something they'd said in their first letter.

It was this flow of correspondence that ensured Baxter and her team always stayed in touch with what children were thinking and feeling. For those watching at home, therefore, this was never just a faceless BBC broadcasting at them. Years before "user-generated content", young viewers were shaping the TV they watched. *Blue Peter* was – and would remain – *their* programme. H

David Hendy is emeritus professor at the University of Sussex. His latest book is *The BBC: A People's History* (Profile, 2022)

VISIT **Explore online exhibitions** that showcase different aspects of the BBC's history at *bbc.co.uk/100*

Cub correspondence *Blue Peter* editor Biddy Baxter reads letters from young viewers next to a lion cub, 1968. The show's correspondence unit helped make it into a cultural phenomenon, David Hendy says

Follow the leader Andy Pandy with his friend Teddy. The puppet's childlike movements in the sweet-natured show were intended to encourage young viewers at home to join in

IN FOCUS Pulling the strings behind Andy Pandy

Andy Pandy made his television debut in the summer of 1950. His strange child-like form was the very personal creation of a rising star of BBC Children's Television: Freda Lingstrom.

Lingstrom first sketched out the puppet's design on the kitchen table of her Kent cottage. Later, she sent them off to the US Patent Office, and these three original drawings can still be seen online today. They show the same figure which would go on to appear on British screens hundreds of times over the following two decades and earn its place in the pantheon of children's television stars.

"Andy" was a small, rather androgynous figure. Wearing a baggy, striped jumpsuit with a frilly ruff and shoes, and with a wide-eyed, somewhat startled expression on his face, he looked very much like a miniature clown.

Lingstrom's efforts to secure an American patent suggests she saw her design's potential for reaching an international television audience. Yet there was something peculiarly British – and perhaps peculiarly BBC – about the little figure that appeared on screen every Tuesday afternoon.

The endearingly jerky walk, the all-too-visible strings, the sweet-natured voice-over provided by Lingstrom's partner, Maria Bird: they all conjured a comfortingly uneventful world where Andy could play safely with his friends Teddy and Looby-Loo, before the hidden narrator announced it was "Time to go home, time to go home", and the puppet obediently folded himself into his little straw basket.

Despite appearances, it had all been carefully thought through behind the scenes. Andy's movements and singing precisely matched what the average three-year old could do. And producers hoped that children at home would join in with Andy by standing up, sitting down, or clapping along.

As far as the BBC was concerned, television needed to counter accusations that it encouraged passivity. Even programmes designed to entertain the very youngest viewers always had to have a deeper purpose in mind.

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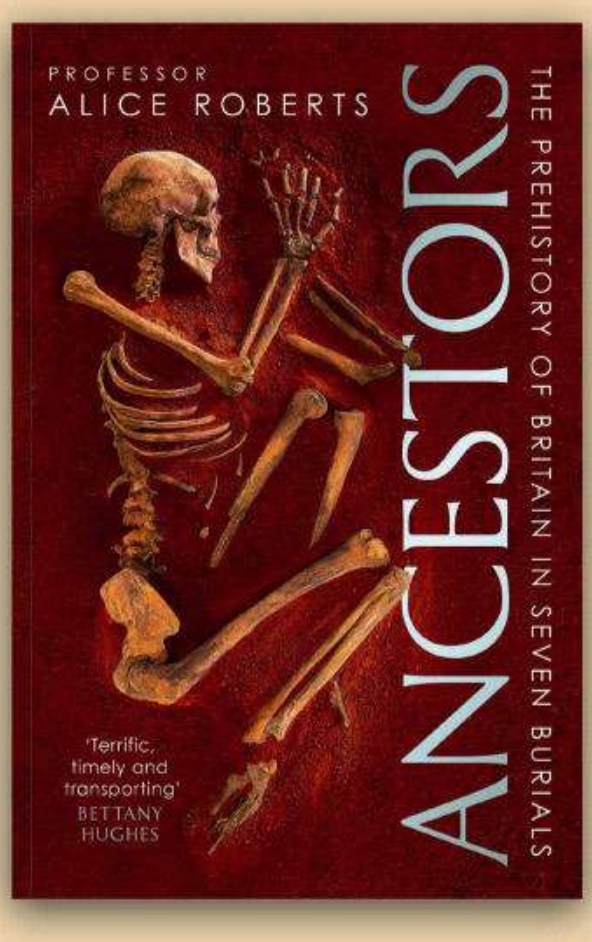
> "The *Blue Peter* team always stayed in touch with what their young viewers were thinking and feeling"

THE *SUNDAY TIMES* BESTSELLER



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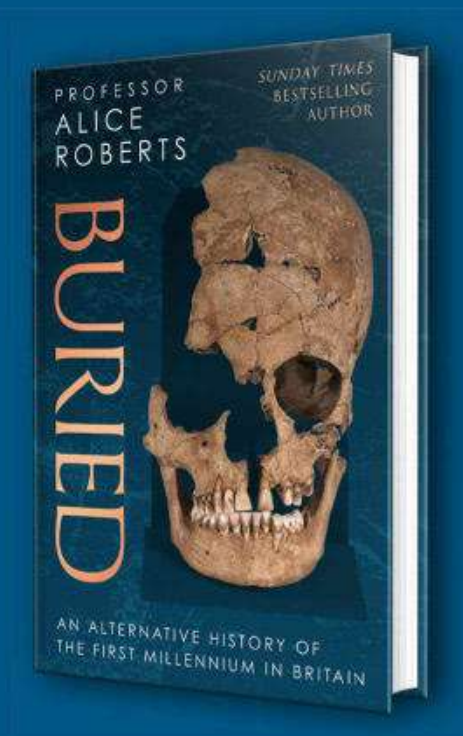

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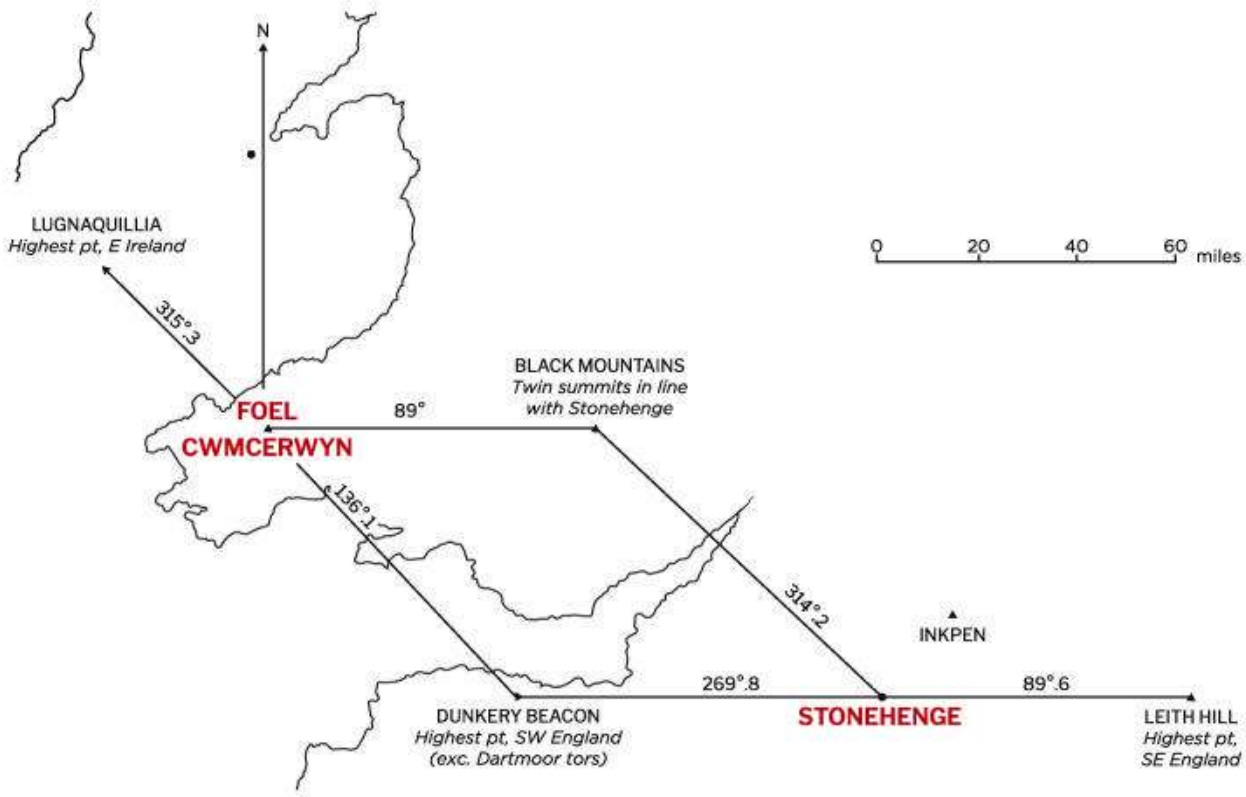
THE MEANING OF STONEHENGE

Hills and Directions are the Keys



Dr Garth Weston has spent four decades investigating the influence of landscape features and the major directions on the location and design of stone circles, henges and standing stones.

Regional surveys of these intriguing structures were published in **Monuments and Mountains (2007)** - a catalogue providing the topographical and inter-site relationships of over 1,600 monuments.

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Q&A

A selection of historical **conundrums** answered by experts

Did George III read the American Declaration of Independence?

Kevin Payton, Pennsylvania

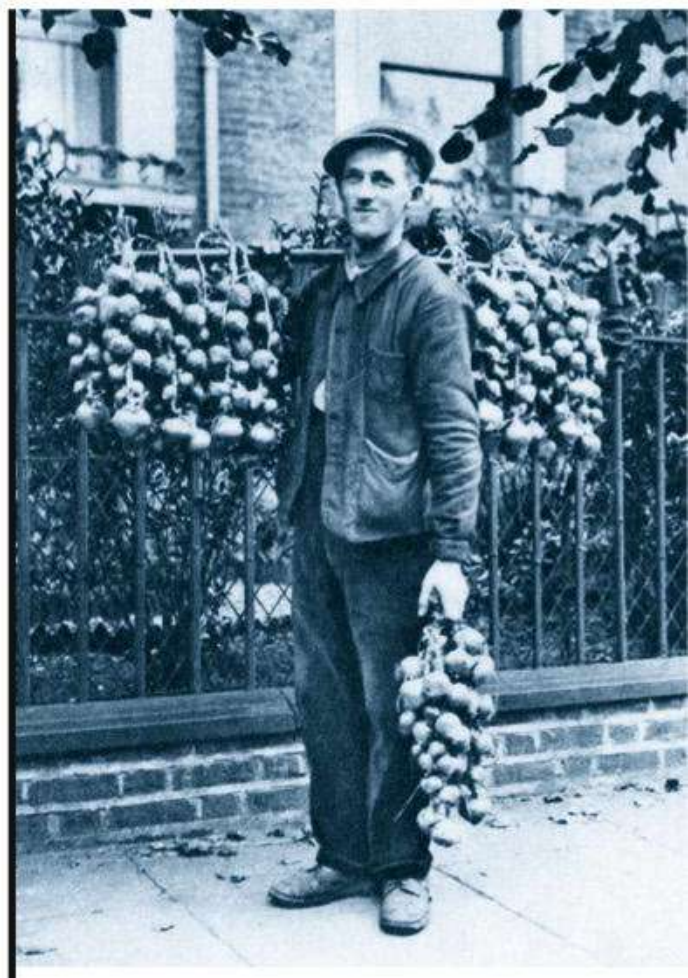
Although King George III was the principal target of the Declaration of Independence, he was never formally sent a copy and there is no actual evidence that he ever read it. It is possible that he did see it, since it was reprinted verbatim in a large number of newspapers and journals, and he was an avid reader on current affairs, yet no mention of it is made in his very extensive correspondence. Of course he would not have publicly responded to the declaration, as that would have recognised (and thus legitimised) the Continental Congress that issued it, but the question remains about whether he even read it privately.

The king's virtually daily correspondence with his prime minister, Lord North, refers to many other aspects of the American crisis after the news arrived in the London papers, six weeks after the pronouncement was printed by the congress on 4 July. Yet there is no mention of the declaration, and its 28 *ad hominem* charges made against the king, even in the course of refuting them.

The British barrister John Lind wrote a 132-page response to the declaration entitled *Answer to the Declaration of Congress,* in which he exposed its manifold inconsistencies and inaccuracies. And Thomas Hutchinson, the loyalist former governor of Massachusetts, published his *Strictures Upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia* anonymously in October 1776. There is no evidence to suggest the king read those either. It is most likely that he did indeed read reports of the declaration, but considered the charges of such a histrionic wartime propaganda document unworthy of any kind of response, or even mention to Lord North.

Andrew Roberts, historian and author of *George III* (Allen Lane, 2021)

A 1779 cartoon showing the United States as a horse, unseating its rider, George III. We cannot know with certainty whether the king read the Declaration of Independence, says Andrew Roberts



A Johnny Onions with his wares in London, c1926. French farmers realised that Britain was the perfect place to sell their onions

Who were "Onion Johnnies"?

Farmers and farm workers from Brittany found a ready market for their onions in Victorian Britain, which was easily and cheaply reached by ferry.

"Onion Johnnies" (often known individually as "Johnny Onions") would arrive in summer, rent a place to sleep (and store onions) and sell strings of onions hanging from a pole or bicycle door-to-door.

These individuals were popular characters in the communities they visited annually, but were especially liked in south Wales, where "Sioni Winwns" could get by well because of similarities between Breton and Welsh.

The trade reached its peak in the 1920s, though it was hard hit by the Depression and cut off by the Second World War. The return of the onion sellers in the postwar years brought a tear to many an eye.

The business was ended by better transport links to French markets and by bulk cargo shipping, though it's remembered at a museum – La Maison des Johnnies – in Roscoff.

Eugene Byrne, author and journalist specialising in history

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When does "antiquity" end?

Rob Cole, Bristol

ILLUSTRATION BY **@GLENMCILLUSTRATION**

Antiquity did not come to an end overnight. The Roman empire, which began in 27 BC, survived into the mid-15th century in the east, almost a millennium after it had waned in the west. The fall of Constantinople to Mehmed the Conqueror in 1453 officially marks the empire's end.

No historian today, however, would define the 1400s as "antiquity". The period we describe as such came to a close long before the empire's final collapse. For some, the death in AD 565 of Justinian, the Byzantine emperor who had tried to restore the empire in the west, signifies the true end of antiquity. For others, the endpoint falls later. Others still would place the end of antiquity at the fall of Rome itself.

Rome fell in stages. The Sack of Rome by the Goths in AD 410 – in which some of the city's finest buildings, including the Basilica Julia, were damaged – was followed by the invasion of the Vandals, who plundered the temples and took captives. But the final blow came in AD 476 when a Germanic soldier, Flavius Odoacer, led a successful coup to depose the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus.

Like the fall of Rome, the end of antiquity was not marked by a single event, nor was it an abrupt halt. For the purposes of history-writing, however, it is reasonable to date it to the turning-point year of AD 476.

Daisy Dunn, author of *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Life of Pliny* (William Collins, 2019)

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

A French general carries Captain Danjou's wooden hand in a 2013 parade

DID YOU KNOW...?

Chocolate poisoning

A Metropolitan Police Commissioner nearly died after eating a poisoned Walnut Whip chocolate. In November 1922 Sir Walter Horwood opened a box delivered to his office and found the chocolates, which he thought might be a gift from his daughter. He popped one in his mouth and soon collapsed in agony. A man named Walter Tatam had injected weedkiller into the Walnut Whip. After medical attention, the commissioner survived. Tatam never explained the motive behind his attempted assassination by chocolate.

Wagner's eastern opera

Richard Wagner wrote a sketch for an opera which included the Buddha among its characters. The composer became interested in eastern religion in the 1850s. In 1856, he outlined an opera plot involving the Buddha, reincarnation and a tangled love affair between a monk and a young woman. Although Wagner produced no music for the opera, he was still referring to it as an ongoing project nine years later in discussing future works for his patron, King Ludwig of Bavaria.

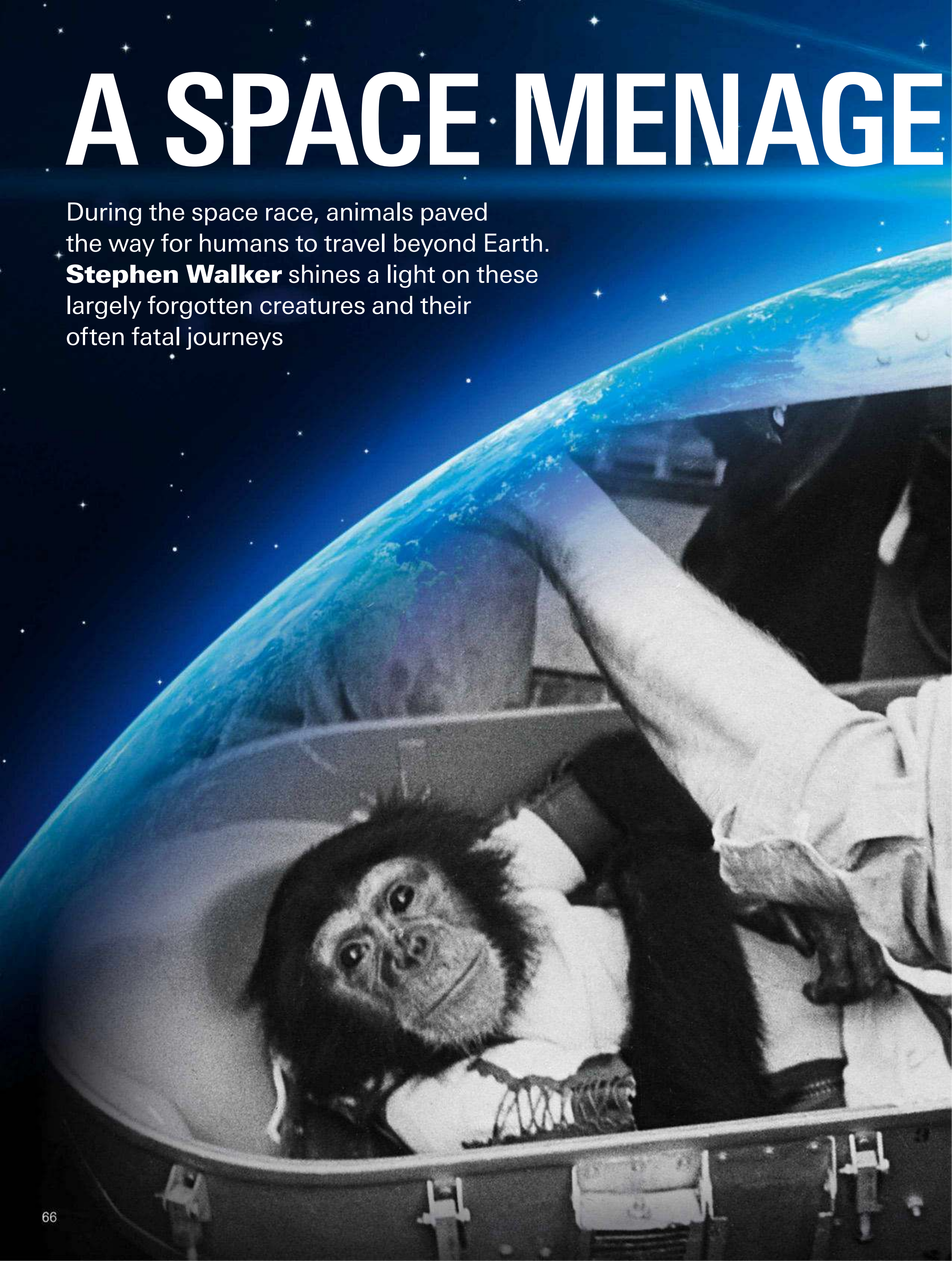
A big hand

The French Foreign Legion's most cherished artefact is a prosthetic wooden hand, once attached to Captain Jean Danjou. Danjou died in the 1863 battle of Camarón in Mexico, during which he and 64 men he commanded fought against a 3,000-strong Mexican army. Scores of the legionnaires were killed in the engagement. Every year, on the anniversary of the battle, Danjou's wooden hand is carried in a ceremonial parade at the legion's garrison in the French town of Aubagne. H

Nick Rennison, writer and journalist specialising in history

A SPACE MENAGE

During the space race, animals paved the way for humans to travel beyond Earth. **Stephen Walker** shines a light on these largely forgotten creatures and their often fatal journeys



RIE

ON THE E PODCAST

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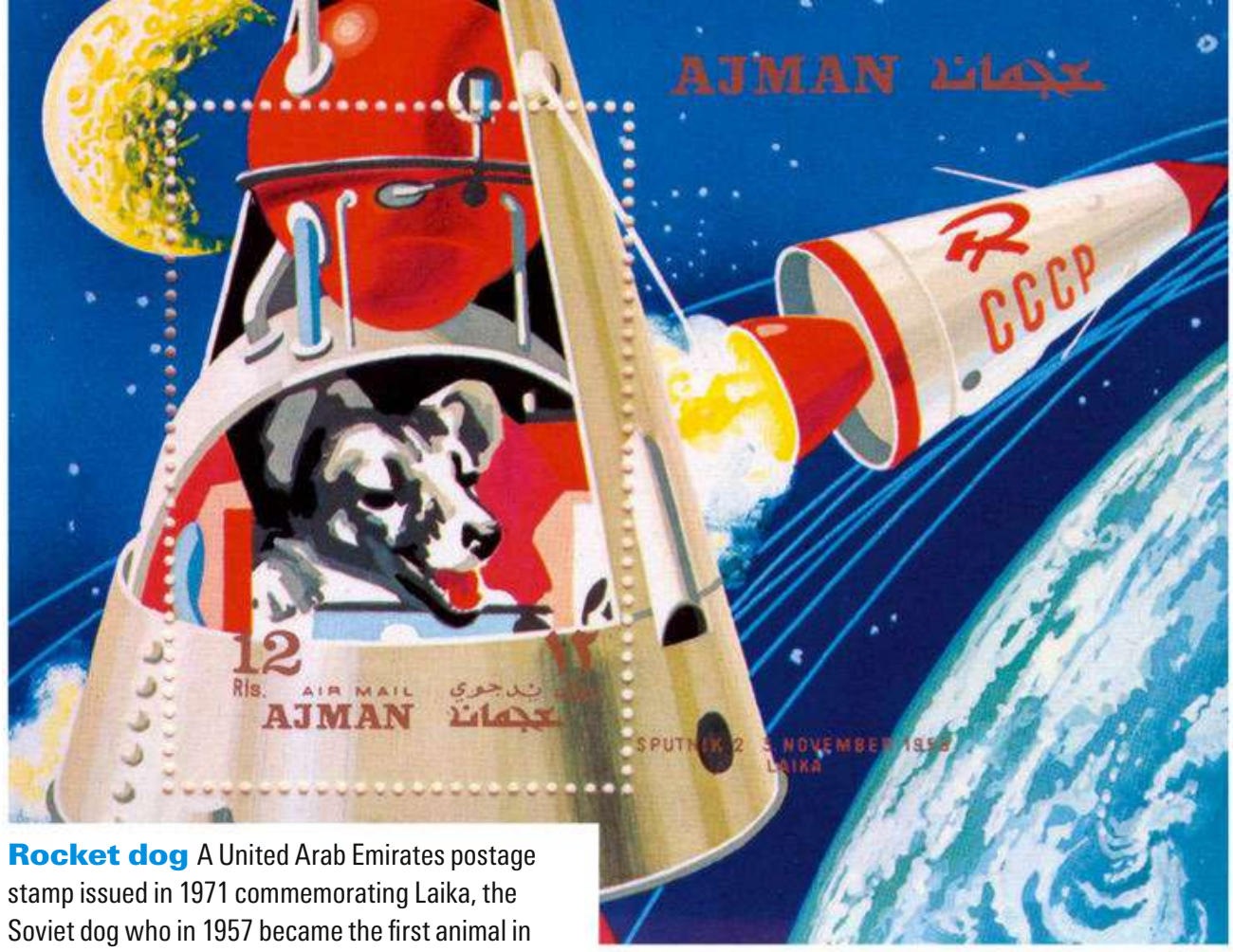
The ape escape

The capsule containing Ham the "chimponaut" is opened following his return to Earth in 1961. He lived another 22 years after his suborbital flight; other animal astronauts weren't so lucky



Rocket dog A United Arab Emirates postage stamp issued in 1971 commemorating Laika, the Soviet dog who in 1957 became the first animal in orbit. She died in her capsule hours after launch

Within hours of launch, Laika was the most famous dog in history. A mongrel – a dash of husky, a smattering of terrier – and by all accounts a lovable, sweet-tempered animal, she was now travelling in space about 1,000 miles above the surface of the planet. The date was 3 November 1957, the location of her launch a secret missile site in Soviet Kazakhstan, and her rocket a converted nuclear missile – the biggest in the world. It needed to be big, because Laika's mission was to do something no other organism had achieved in the 3.5 billion years since life began: to orbit the Earth, circling it approximately every 90 minutes at 10 times the speed of a rifle bullet.

Laika wasn't coming back: the technology didn't yet exist to bring her home. Nobody doubted that the Soviets had scored a stunning success at the very height of the Cold War, but her grisly fate also earned them the condemnation of animal-lovers in the west. As she circled the planet, strapped and sealed in her tiny, windowless capsule with just seven days' supply of food and oxygen, the National Canine Defence League in the UK called for a daily minute's silence, and dog-lovers picketed the UN in New York. What the protesters didn't know was that Laika was already dead: her capsule had overheated just a few hours after launch. The Soviets would hide that truth for decades.

Today, more than 60 years later, Laika is the one space animal most people remember. The astonishing reality, though, is that thousands of animals have been used – and continue to be used – in space experiments. The variety of species involved is simply staggering, ranging from dogs, monkeys and chimpanzees to tortoises, rabbits, cats, frogs, bees, spiders, fish, mice, ants, crickets, moths, snails, jellyfish and – inevitably – guinea pigs.

Colossal speeds

Although Laika was the first animal to make it into orbit, many preceded her on rocket rides to the heavens. The Americans did it first as early as 1948 in a programme called Project Albert, in which a series of rhesus monkeys – all called Albert – were inserted into the nose cones of reconstructed German V2 missiles in New Mexico and fired at colossal speeds to the edge of space

The chances of survival were essentially nil, as everyone involved knew. On the first Albert flight, someone scrawled on the nose cone: "Alas poor Yorick, I knew him well." Minutes later he was dead after his parachute shredded and he slammed into the ground. Five further Alberts were also launched. All five died. It was effectively a killing operation.

So why was it done? To the scientists involved, the reasons were clear, urgent and morally justified. The US was waging war against the communists. If space was the next new frontier – battleground, even – it was vital to know what would happen to humans in that most hostile of environments.

The list of unknowns was frighteningly long. Possible health risks included heart failure, blindness, brain damage and muscle paralysis, not to mention horrific cancers from solar radiation. There were fears, too, about what the terrific acceleration forces of a rocket launch could do to a human body, perhaps crushing it altogether. Nobody had a clue. So animals were sent up to find out.

The Americans preferred using monkeys – and, later, chimpanzees – on the grounds that these were close biological cousins to humans. Yet it appears that nobody stopped to consider that, if they looked like us, perhaps they might *feel* like us, too. Photographs of the primates before their flights are deeply distressing, their vulnerability emphasised by the cylinders in which they are rigidly encased, their tightly restrained heads peeping out from a tangle of wires.

After one 1959 flight in which two monkeys named Able and Miss Baker were fired on a ballistic, up-and-down trajectory into space and back, a reporter asked Captain Ashton Graybiel of the US Navy's Aerospace Medical Institute how these animals behaved during training. "These monkeys are almost volunteers," he replied. "We didn't force a monkey to take a test if it objected to it."

About 50 such "volunteers" also populated Nasa's chimpanzee colony at the Holloman Aeromedical Laboratory in New Mexico, with names such as Elvis, Little Jim, Duane and Enos. Their handler, medical technician Edward Dittmer, began their "conditioning" by tying them into chairs 1.5 metres apart to stop them playing with each other. He also trained the chimpanzees to operate a machine called a psychomotor, pulling levers in response to light cues. If they performed a task incorrectly they received an electric shock on their feet. The psychomotor would accompany them on space flights.

A young male subsequently named Ham was the first to fly. In January 1961, with the race to put the first human into space accelerating towards its climax, he blasted off from Cape Canaveral in Florida on a decisive test flight. To reassure the public, Nasa's press release stressed that "only animals that are lawfully acquired shall be used and their use shall in every case be in compliance with the law" – omitting to mention that Ham had been kidnapped as an infant from his mother in Africa by animal trappers, before being sold to Nasa for $457.

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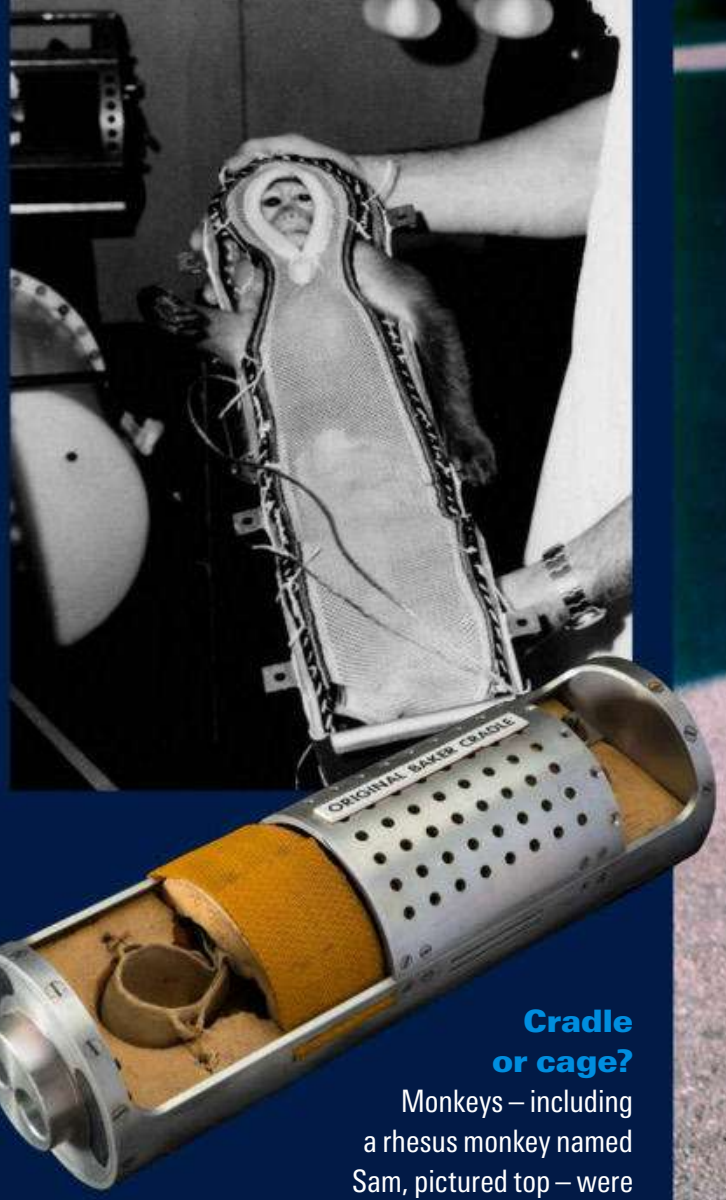
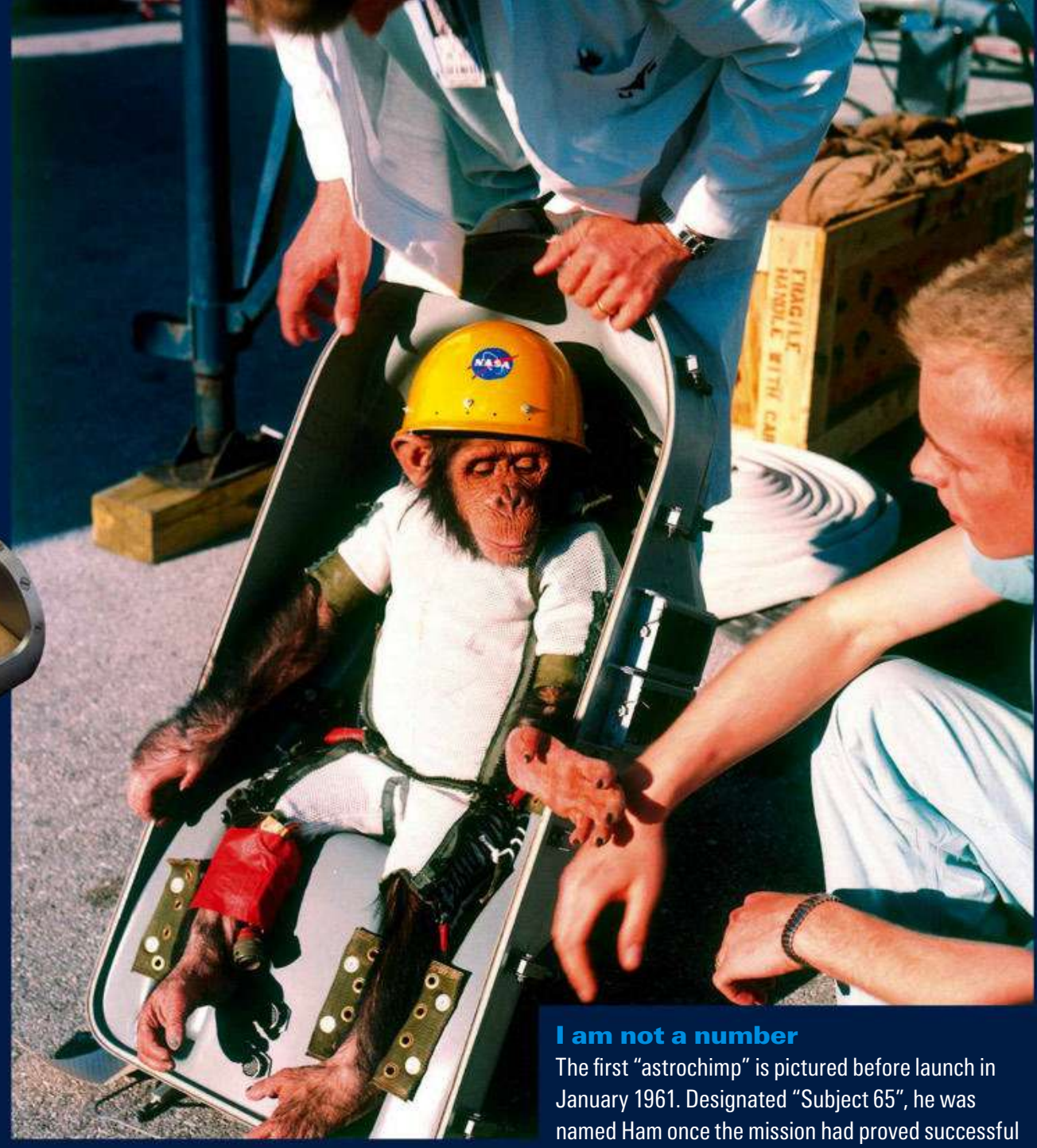


Cradle or cage?
Monkeys – including a rhesus monkey named Sam, pictured top – were secured in rigid cradles to restrict their movements during experimental US space flights; this example is from 1959



I am not a number
The first "astrochimp" is pictured before launch in January 1961. Designated "Subject 65", he was named Ham once the mission had proved successful and the risk of bad press was over

Ham's flight was presented as a sensational success but it was riddled with technical problems, and he nearly drowned when his capsule began to sink in the Atlantic after landing more than 100 miles off course. At least he got an apple for his efforts.

A photograph of Ham and that apple was an instant media hit – here was the world's first "chimponaut" or "astrochimp"! – and, unlike for Laika, there were no large-scale protests. Perhaps dogs were just cuter – or perhaps, at the height of the Cold War, excuses could be made in the west for an American chimpanzee but not for a Soviet dog.

The same story applied to Ham's successor, Enos, whose name means "Man" in Hebrew and Greek. It was an apt moniker: Enos's intelligence was extraordinary. He was the colony's dazzling ace on the psychomotor, his arms a blur of perfectly coordinated action. In one exercise, each chimp was given a banana after pulling a lever exactly 50 times. Enos picked this up so fast he was soon holding out his hand ready for the banana after the 49th pull.

What impeded his progress, in the eyes of his handlers, was his anger. "No one ever held Enos," recalled Dittmer. Enos once even hurled his faeces in the face of a visiting senator. But his superb intelligence could not be ignored, and in November 1961 he, too, was launched from Cape Canaveral to orbit the Earth. He was the first (and last) chimpanzee to do so, in a dress rehearsal for John Glenn's orbital flight three months later.

It was a grim experience. The psychomotor malfunctioned, so that Enos kept getting electric shocks – 35 of them – even when he was pulling the correct lever. Incredibly, there's some evidence to suggest that he tried to work out what was going wrong and put it right, but the shocks kept coming. After splashing down in his Mercury capsule near Bermuda he ripped off his restraint suit, all of the electrodes and even his catheter, such was his understandable rage. But at least – for a blissful hour and a quarter before the humans arrived in their helicopters – he was free.

Canine compliance

It was precisely to avoid this sort of dangerous rebelliousness that the Soviets chose dogs rather than primates, though mice, rats and a rabbit were also used. "Dogs," said Colonel Vladimir Yazdovsky, chief of the USSR's animal space programme, "respond well to training." Apes manifestly did not.

The Soviet dogs wouldn't be pulling any levers in space, nor would Soviet cosmonauts. Their job was to obey and endure the mission – and not touch anything. This, after all, was the country where Ivan Pavlov had also trained his dogs, conditioning them to salivate in response to the sound of a ringing bell. In fascinating respects, the superpowers' animal choices reflected their opposing ideologies. In a society that valued the collective over the individual, independence was not encouraged. Dogs would do as they were told, just like upstanding Soviet citizens. They wouldn't be ripping out their catheters.

So Laika, though the most famous canine cosmonaut, was just one of many. From 1951, the Soviets blasted some 41 dogs into the skies, though – thanks to the programme's smothering secrecy – the exact number is still unknown. Perhaps as many as 22 died. In the only recorded example of mutiny, one dog managed to run away as she was brought out to her rocket. She was replaced by a puppy unlucky enough to be wandering outside the staff canteen at the wrong moment.

The dogs "recruited" into the Soviet space programme were stray females grabbed off Moscow's streets. Among the many stringent requirements, they had to be small enough to fit inside tiny capsules. In fact, the list of specifications got so long that the dog catchers became exasperated. "Perhaps," complained one, "you'd also like them to have blue eyes

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TIMELINE ANIMAL MISSIONS THAT BLAZED THE TRAIL

June 1948

On 11 June 1948 **Albert I, the first of six rhesus monkeys** in Project Albert, is launched aboard an American-built V2 missile from White Sands, New Mexico. Apart from some fruit flies in 1947, they are the first animals to ride rockets, sometimes reaching altitudes of 80 miles and higher.

November 1957

Laika the dog (above) becomes the first organism to orbit the Earth. Expected to survive seven days, she dies only hours after take-off. Her mission launches just a month after the Soviet Sputnik, the world's first satellite, and she is dubbed "Muttnik" by the American press.

August 1960

Two Russian dogs named Belka and Strelka are the first animals to fly in orbit and return alive, having circled the Earth an astonishing 18 times. The capsule's TV camera captures footage of Belka vomiting and tearing at her harness during the flight. The Soviets say a human will soon fly in space – a prediction that comes true when Yuri Gagarin goes into orbit the following April.

1961

Following the suborbital flight by **Ham the chimpanzee** (below) in January 1961, in May Alan Shepard becomes the first US man in space. The two-orbit trip by another chimpanzee, **Enos**, in November that year is followed by John Glenn's in February 1962. Shepard and Glenn win medals and are honoured with huge parades. The chimpanzees get apples.

September 1968

Two Russian steppe tortoises fly around the moon on the Soviet Zond-5 spacecraft, along with mealworms and fruit flies. After splashdown in the Indian Ocean three days later, they are 10 per cent lighter. No other tortoises have returned to the moon, though others have flown in Earth orbit.

December 1972

Aboard Apollo 17, the final lunar Apollo mission, are **five pocket mice named Fe, Fi, Fo, Fum and Phooey**. They orbit the moon 75 times over six days inside the command module America together with astronaut Ron Evans. One of the mice dies during the flight. The other four are euthanised after returning to Earth.

April 1998

The Neurolab mission – including the biggest menagerie ever flown into space in a single mission – launches. The Space Shuttle Columbia carries **mice, fish, snails, 12 cages of rats and approximately 10,000 crickets** plus seven humans on a two-week voyage in orbit. Half of the baby rats on board die within the first week.

May 2011

Two female golden orb spiders, Gladys and Esmeralda, become celebrities when they live for two months on the International Space Station, their every fly-catching and web-spinning effort filmed and watched by hundreds of thousands of Earthling schoolchildren. On returning to Earth, Gladys turns out to be male and is promptly renamed Gladstone.

and howl in C major?"

Many of these dogs were initially trained by Moscow's renowned Durov Animal Theatre. Their training took place secretly at the Institute of Aviation and Space Medicine where the dogs were conditioned to increasing levels of confinement over increasing lengths of time. By the end, they could cope without protest while chained inside containers for 20 days at a time

Race for survival

None of the Soviet dog launches was publicised – at least, not until a flight was successful. Such was the state's paranoia that some flights even carried bombs on board, programmed to blow up the spacecraft – along with its hapless dog – should it veer off course and towards some capitalist country such as the US. In December 1960, one Soviet craft did just that – and was duly destroyed. Three weeks later, another with two dogs inside landed by mistake in Siberia. Rescuers had to slog through the worst winter in years to get to the dogs before the bomb blew them up. They did – in the nick of time.

And that policy might not have stopped there. Secret records reveal that, when Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space four months later in April 1961, a top KGB general seriously proposed putting a bomb on *that* flight, too. He was overruled.

The USSR stopped launching dogs into space in 1966, but other animals continued to fly to the heavens. Notably, two Russian steppe tortoises went round the moon in September 1968, just ahead of Apollo 8 and its American (human) crew in December. With the Soviet lunar programme falling far behind, the tortoises represented a last-ditch attempt to return to the glory days of Laika.

By then, other nations had also got in on the act. In 1963, France sent the only cat into space – a black-and-white female called Félicette, bought from a Parisian pet shop. Dubbed the first "Astrocat", she was euthanised after her 13-minute flight; so were most of her 14 fellow trainee cats who never got beyond the laboratory. Another was killed when her rocket blew up on the launchpad.

As the exigencies of the Cold War faded away and after the USSR collapsed in 1991, the ethical justifications for these animal flights increasingly lost support. In 1996, members of PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) chained themselves together inside Nasa's Washington headquarters in protest at plans to launch two rhesus monkeys into space aboard Bion 11, a collaborative Russian-US biological satellite.

The launch went ahead anyway and Nasa crossed its fingers, praying for a perfect mission. It was not to be. When one of the

GETTY IMAGES/DREAMSTIME

Paving the way Soviet space dog Laika, the first animal to orbit the planet. Sensors monitored her bodily functions during the first hours of the flight in November 1957

Small pioneers Félicette, a female Parisian cat, was the only feline to fly in space, in 1963

BELOW: A tardigrade, Earth's hardiest creature; these microscopic animals can survive outside spacecraft

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monkeys, Multik, died while a biopsy was being performed on the day after his two-week flight, protests swelled to a fury. No further primates were sent into space by the US or Russia. A major chapter in the history of space exploration was finally closed.

Creatures great but small

But that wasn't the end of the story. Aside from one reputed (possibly non-existent) Iranian monkey in 2013, animals now tend to be mice, spiders, bees, flies, fish and tiny tardigrades – the hardiest creatures on our planet. Incredibly, thousands of tardigrades were able to survive for 12 days outside their spacecraft on a 2007 European Space Agency mission.

The International Space Station (ISS), first launched in 1998, has hosted a whole menagerie of small animals. As recently as June 2021, a Cargo Dragon spacecraft arrived at the ISS carrying baby squid, to explore the relationship between microbes and their animal hosts. Perhaps China's new Tiangong ("Heavenly Palace") space station will soon house animals, joining the toy cow that is already in residence. Like the Soviets, the Chinese also secretly sent dogs into space back in the 1960s, although there have been no dogs on Chinese missions since then.

Today, we have come a long way since those pioneering Albert flights 74 years ago. Most of the horrors of those early decades are behind us, but the cost has been high – perhaps too high – and, while the US and Russia celebrate their human space heroes, very few animals have received any accolades.

Dying in 1983 after nearly 20 years living in zoos, Ham had a burial of sorts –albeit minus his skeleton, which is kept in a medical museum in Maryland. Nobody knows what happened to Enos's body following his death just a year after his flight in 1962. Meanwhile, Belka and Strelka – two once-celebrated Soviet dogs who orbited the Earth in 1960 – sit cutely stuffed in glass boxes at the entrance to a Moscow space museum.

As for Nasa's monkeys, a number survived into very old age at the Ames Research Center in California. Leaked documents later revealed that the last 27, some suffering from Parkinson's disease, had all been "humanely" euthanised on a single day in 2019.

It is an appalling indictment that such things have been allowed to happen, and I hope that a memorial will one day be built to commemorate all these brave animals, just as a memorial now exists in London for those other animals forced to fight in our human wars. It is surely the least they deserve. H

Some flights carried bombs on board, to blow up the spacecraft – and its hapless dog – should it veer off course

Stephen Walker is the author of *Beyond: The Astonishing Story of the First Human to Journey into Space* (William Collins, 2021). Listen to him discussing the history of animals in space at *historyextra.com/animals-in-space*

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WOMEN

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INTERVIEW

Judith A Green explores the dramatic rise of the Normans › page 76

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INTERVIEW / JUDITH A GREEN

"We have believed the Normans' view of themselves for too long"

JUDITH A GREEN talks to David Musgrove about her new book, which takes readers far beyond the familiar story of 1066, and provides a richer understanding of the Normans' complex place in the wider history of Europe

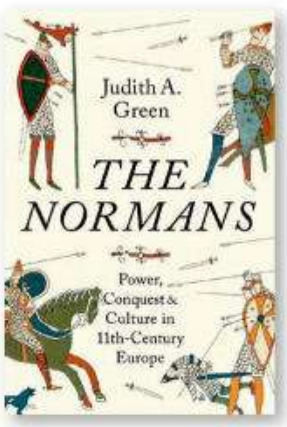
ON THE EI PODCAST

David Musgrove: To quote from your introduction, "This book is concerned chiefly with the Normans' explosive rise to power, their establishment in Normandy, and their 11th-century conquests." Can you briefly chart that story for us?

Judith Green: The Duchy of Normandy originated with a group of Vikings led by a man called Rou or Rollo. They were granted land in the Seine Valley by Charles the Simple, king of the west Franks, in the year 911. This was originally part of Charlemagne's empire; he had been king of the Franks, king of the Lombards and the first emperor of what became known as the Holy Roman Empire, ruling over a huge swathe of territory in Europe. But after his death in 814, over time Charlemagne's territory was divided into the lands of the west Franks (from whom came the kingdom of France), the east Franks (from whom came the Germans and the kingdom of Germany) and Middle Frankia.

In the 10th century, there was a bitter power struggle in northern France. The Normans made a strategic decision to ally with the people who became the Capetian kings of France. That helped them to stabilise their position. The Normans were jockeying with Bretons, other Viking groups and Franks, but Rollo and his descendants fought off those others. So a strong, cohesive duchy emerged in Normandy by around the year 1000.

Also around that time, Norman mercenaries and pilgrims began to be recorded in Italy. Then, by the middle of the 11th century, some were joining Byzantine armies in eastern Europe. Politics in northern France was complicated at that time, so the fact that Normandy hung together and didn't split into smaller units indicates that it had become a very powerful principality. It was one of the most enduring of the Viking principalities, apart from the northern and western isles in Scotland.



The Normans: Power, Conquest and Culture in 11th-Century Europe
by Judith A Green
(Yale University Press, 368 pages, £25)

How many Viking settlers were in Normandy in the early 10th century?

We don't know for certain. When you look at place names – among the few sources of evidence – you see there were Vikings strongly settled in what we think of as upper Normandy. And in the west of Normandy, around Cherbourg, for example, there were other groups who probably came from the Irish Sea, who were Norse Irish rather than Danish.

The Normans' own master narrative thinks of them as descended from Danes. But clearly there were other groups around. The problem for historians is that they left very few marks on the archaeology. Whereas in the Danelaw, in England, you've got lots of Viking remains and Viking burials and Viking coins, you don't in Normandy. So you're piecing together what happened from place names and what the Normans themselves wrote about their own past. The current thinking is that there were so few of them in Normandy that they soon assimilated with the Frankish population, and that's why we don't have many physical remains.

Did the early Normans try to distance themselves from their Scandinavian heritage, or embrace it?

A bit of both. I think in the early years you get the sense that they're interested in their Viking past, but then their own historians start to want to show how they became Christian. And because those writers were coming from a clerical perspective, that to them was more important. So they presented the Viking leaders, the Norman leaders, as Christians and showed them doing the kinds of things Christian rulers should have done, like founding monasteries. So you had a turning away from the Viking past by the early 11th century.

How far did the Normans see themselves as distinct from the people around them?

They commissioned providential history, which said that they were chosen by God and they were God's chosen warriors. This was the earliest version of the Norman story. But it became the master narrative, and they're given a Christian heritage and a classical heritage. That's the other thing that new peoples liked to do in the Middle Ages: create a classical heritage to show they were directly descended from people at the siege of Troy. This story is projected onto an idea of heroic leadership and battling against the odds for survival under terrific leaders. One of my motives for writing the book was the feeling that for too long, historians have tended to believe the Normans' view of themselves.

Who is the most important figure in this early process of writing the Norman master narrative?

He's a chap called Dudo, and he was not a Norman. He was based at St Quentin and he was writing for Richard I, the late 10th-century Duke of Normandy. Dudo lived on into the reign of Duke Richard II. From Dudo, the story was taken up by a monk from a Norman monastery called William of Jumieges, and he took the story down to William the Conqueror and 1066. Those two historians basically established the narrative of the Normans in Normandy and how terrific they were.

PROFILE

Judith A Green is emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Edinburgh. Her previous books include *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), and *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

PHOTOGRAPH BY FRAN MONKS

So the Normans themselves promulgated the idea that they were this race of exceptional warriors. Is there any truth in that?
I think it's a bit like saying: "Is Liverpool Football Club the best football team in the world?" At one level, yes, the Normans were exceptional warriors who succeeded and were absolutely ruthless. But the point I'm trying to make in the book is that they didn't have a secret weapon.

It used to be thought that maybe their horses were special, but I don't think that argument holds up. The techniques weren't special, and a lot of their greatest successes were in sieges rather than on the battlefield, because pitched battles were very rare. People like Robert Guiscard, who was the foundational figure in Norman Italy, had to learn on the job. But there was no reason why Flemings or Bretons or whoever shouldn't have been as good as the Normans. So I don't think you can explain their successes from that point of view.

As a society, did the Normans invest more time in martial matters, in training and in the development of knights?
I think all societies at the time did. If you had able sons, you could put them into the church, but that cost you as well. So young men who didn't want to go into the church would be trained in arms. And then you had to find some way of getting land and establishing your own household. So many of them emigrated and of course, they emigrated from other parts of France as well.

Professor Chris Wickham made a very interesting point a few years ago. He said that what's different about the 11th century is that these young men were having to go further than they had to go in the ninth or the 10th centuries, where there were more wars and more paymasters closer to hand. By the 11th century, they were having to go to Italy or Greece or Byzantium to find employers, where there were still plenty of wars around.

You've mentioned Italy a couple of times. How did the Normans become established there?
The timeline starts actually 50 years before 1066. At that point, there were Normans around in Italy. Some were pilgrims, others were mercenaries. The politics of Italy in the centre and the south was very complicated. You had the Byzantines established in the south; the Arabs held Sicily; and then there were Lombard principalities – places like Naples and Capua – that were descended from Frankish Lombard groups. So there were opportunities because it was divided.

The Normans fought for whoever would pay them. They fought for the Greeks; they fought against the Greeks; they fought for the Lombards; and eventually one group of Normans was given a toehold near Naples. From that, they began to expand. But their contemporaries were horrified at the banditry and the way they enslaved people, the way they would do anything to get land. So it's not a heroic story, and they don't end by unifying south Italy – that's a long, long story that doesn't conclude until the 12th century. So they were really fighting their way in among these different interest groups, and enough of them got land to start establishing themselves as a serious contender for power.

> **"In limited ways there was a consciousness of a wider Norman world, but you can't see them going backwards and forwards in some kind of commonwealth of Normans"**

Was there a Norman kingdom in Italy in the same way that there was a Norman kingdom in England?
In 1130 it was recognised that the then ruler, Roger II, was king of the Norman lands in Sicily and the southern mainland. The title was actually granted by an anti-pope, but that was his basis of authority. So it was quite late. And even then, Roger II was fighting against people who didn't accept that he should be king over all of them. So that was a different situation from England, where you had a kingdom already and the Normans simply took it over.

Focusing on early 12th-century geopolitics, you've got Normans in Normandy, England and southern Italy. Do they spread out from there?
Yes, certainly by the late 11th century they were moving across the Mediterranean to the islands of Malta and Gozo, and in the 12th century, Roger II established footholds in north Africa. That gave him a lucrative point of entry into not just the gold trade, but also the slave trade. At the end of the 11th century, two Norman contingents joined the First Crusade, one from Normandy itself, led by Duke Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, and the other led by Bohemond, who was one of the Norman lords of south Italy.

Were Normans key players in the First Crusade?
Absolutely. Duke Robert was nicknamed Curthose (short legs) by his father, and he's run down consistently in the Norman master narrative. The early chroniclers were writing (or revising) their accounts of him after he had been captured by his brother Henry I in 1106 and imprisoned for life, and so they played down Robert's achievements – no doubt to avoid angering Henry I. But Robert was one of the great commanders of the First Crusade, leading the Normans at major sieges and battles, and he probably did the most to transmit Norman values. At the battle of Dorylaeum, early in the First Crusade, Duke Robert lifted his helmet, cried "Normandy" – and the Normans flocked to him.

Bohemond, Lord of Taranto of the south Italian Normans, was an even more glamorous figure. He was the one who got them into the castle of Antioch, in the great set-piece siege of the First Crusade.

Christ crowns King Roger II of Sicily in this c12th-century mosaic. According to Judith A Green, the popes backed the Normans in their various conquests

BRIDGEMAN

Did their role in the First Crusade change how they were seen around European Christendom?
If you were living in conquered England, you had to come to terms with the

The siege of Antioch, where Norman forces led by Bohemond stormed the castle. This "was the great set-piece siege of the First Crusade", says Judith A Green

BRIDGEMAN

Normans. You can get a sense from the authors of the monastic chronicles, who were often Englishmen in monasteries in England, that they hated the Normans. 1066 had quite a profound impression on contemporaries, because England was a Christian kingdom and lots of Christians had been killed in the battle of Hastings. So it took time for people to come to terms with that.

But by the 12th century, the Normans in England had legitimised themselves and were accepted, and the same went for the Normans in Italy. Meanwhile, the Normans in Antioch were always having to fight, and in that sense, they got subsumed into the bigger politics of the different crusader principalities. They came under the kingdom of Jerusalem after a while, so it didn't stay Norman all that long.

What was the relationship between the Normans and the church?
The pope backed William the Conqueror in 1066. That was a question of timing as there was a reform movement in the 11th-century church. As part of that, the popes were trying to establish themselves as the head of the western church rather than just as the bishops of Rome, which was very convenient from the point of view of the Normans. They backed the reformed papacy and said: "We may be conquering people, but we're doing it for the right reasons and we will reform the church." This mix of religion and war was also evident in the First Crusade. That was launched as an armed pilgrimage to rescue Jerusalem. So again, there was apparently a very pious motive.

Was there any sense that the Normans in these various polities viewed themselves as part of a single Norman world?
Only in battle rhetoric. I'm sure commanders never had the time to make big battlefield speeches, so those are probably invented, but they are recorded as saying words to the effect of: "Remember what your ancestors did at Hastings; remember what they did in Italy; remember what they did at Antioch." And they rehearsed the great stories. But I don't think many of them said: "My second cousin is in Apulia, I might go down there and see what I can find." It's not like a modern diaspora.

I think in certain limited ways, yes, there was a consciousness of a wider Norman world. But when you look at the different theatres that they were involved in, the societies they were moving in, they were so different that you can't see them going backwards and forwards in some kind of commonwealth of Normans.

You say that behind the legends of the Normans, their success owed much to timing and their leaders. Can you expand on that?
The timing question is crucial. Thinking about 1066, England was a country that had been conquered by Danes, with a king who had no direct heir, and the Normans knew that if they didn't invade, somebody else was going to. So that was why William the Conqueror was lucky in his timing, and he was also sufficiently in control in Normandy that he could invade. In Italy, the Normans faced a very weak and fragmented political society, so there were lots of opportunities for them. The same can be said in the near east as well, in that you have the Byzantine empire in the north fighting the Seljuk Turks, but also the Arabs in Egypt. So for all those reasons, there were opportunities to do with timing for the Normans.

The question of leaders I came to reluctantly because I started out thinking: "Oh, who believes in heroes any more?" But the bottom line is that these were exceptional men – although we don't hear enough about their failures. They earned the respect of the people who followed them. They were lucky commanders and they had charisma. Charisma is a very interesting historical subject and these men had it in spades. You read about Bohemond of Antioch or Tancred of Hauteville – they were leaders who men would follow to their deaths.

MORE FROM US

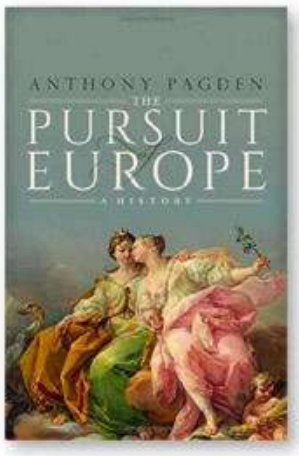
Listen to an extended version of this interview with Judith A Green on our **podcast** at *historyextra.com/podcast*

The states we're in
A map of the Holy Roman Empire surrounded by portraits of its emperors, 1770. Anthony Pagden's new book focuses on the idea of a united Europe

EUROPE

In search of unity

RICHARD J EVANS is unconvinced by a new study that is focused on the idea of finishing the "European project" and based on the testimonies of esteemed thinkers over the centuries



The Pursuit of Europe: A History
by Anthony Pagden
Oxford University Press, 432 pages, £25

In his new book, *The Pursuit of Europe*, Anthony Pagden vigorously asserts the possibility – indeed, the necessity – of resuming and completing the "European project". By this he means the creation not of a European superstate but "a new post-national order united in a political life based not upon the old shibboleths of nationalism and patriotism but upon a common body of values and aspirations".

European unity is made possible, he argues, by the two enduring and fundamental factors of representative government and the networks of internal trade that created its self-sufficiency in all basic essentials of life. These, he asserts, must provide the basis for a family of nations living peacefully together in a single order of justice and united by a common body of political objectives.

The problem is, of course, that this is looking extremely unlikely at the moment. Quite apart from the current crisis of representative government and the growing recourse of politicians everywhere to "the old shibboleths of nationalism and patriotism", Europe is far from self-sufficient in an age of continuing economic globalisation and interdependence. In the face of Covid-19, the European Union has not been able to do much more than provide financial support for member states' efforts to combat the disease.

Beyond this, one has to ask whether Pagden is going the right way about arguing for the march of the EU towards "ever greater union" as a single "body politic" underpinned by "an enforceable constitution". What he essentially does in this book is to gather together testimonies from thinkers,

BRIDGEMAN

> **As Pagden shows, the idea of European unity has occupied the minds of many significant thinkers over the centuries and surely deserves defending**

famous and less famous, in favour of European unity since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. These have been many and varied, and their meaning has differed according to the time and the circumstances in which they were written. Stringing them together in this way doesn't, in the end, convince.

Moreover, 1815 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars arguably isn't the right place to start. Partly this is indicated by the fact that Pagden devotes a good deal of space to an argument by 18th-century philosopher Immanuel Kant. In it he proposes the creation of "perpetual peace" through the establishment of a federation of nations constituted as representative republics and governed by a single body of law. A better starting point would perhaps have been the emergence of the idea of "Europe" in the early modern period to replace the concept of "Christendom", fatally undermined by the Reformation.

Who, in any case, is Pagden trying to convince? To a large extent, *The Pursuit of Europe* seems to locate itself in the history of ideas. If this is the case, though, why does the author introduce a wide range of thinkers as if the reader has never heard of them? ("The great 18th-century French poet, playwright, historian, and philosopher François-Marie Arouet, better known by his sobriquet Voltaire", for example.) These introductions often include details that are irrelevant to the assessment of the thought and politics of the individual in question – such as "the novelist, essayist, dandy, and notorious philanderer Drieu de la Rochelle". On the other hand, he uses words only specialists in the history of ideas could be expected to understand – "neo-Hegelian", "amphictyonic" and so on.

The fact that Pagden gets Drieu la Rochelle's name wrong illustrates another problem with this book: as soon as it departs from the history of political thought, mistakes begin to creep in. Take the outbreak of the First World War as an example. Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not the Austro-Hungarian crown prince – that title had been reserved to the eldest son of the reigning monarch, in this case Franz Joseph's only male offspring, the unfortunate Prince Rudolf, who killed himself in 1889. The Allies at the start of the war did not include Italy, which was in fact formally allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary before changing sides the following year. Bosnia was not a "central European state" but an Austro-Hungarian colony in the Balkans. The Weimar Republic was not notably more centralised or powerful than the Bismarckian state, which was not a federation of principalities (it included three republics). Gustav Stresemann was not Reich chancellor when the Locarno Treaties were negotiated in October 1925 (he was foreign minister), and his successor as chancellor in 1923 was not Heinrich Brüning but Wilhelm Marx. 1 April 1939 was not "four months before the outbreak of war" but five. And so on.

This is a pity. As Pagden successfully shows, the idea of European unity is an important subject that has occupied the minds of many significant thinkers over the centuries and surely deserves defending. H

Richard J Evans is the author of *The Pursuit of Power: Europe, 1815–1914* (Allen Lane, 2016)

DREAMSTIME

At half mast?
Richard J Evans asserts that the EU has faced new challenges in recent years, with Covid-19 adding to the strain

AUTHORS ON THE PODCAST

Kathryn Harkup on Shakespeare's death scenes

"Strangely, people don't often talk about Shakespeare's death scenes. Not only were they dramatically important, but Shakespeare tended to write plausible deaths. Why did he bother? He was writing plays! He could have just had an actor flounce on the floor and die – it didn't have to be accurate – but, extraordinarily, he paid special attention to the details in his descriptions."

Caroline Shenton on Britain's artistic treasures during the Second World War

"At the start of the war, the national collections were moved to places such as country houses and castles. It was a question of finding friends or connections who had empty spaces where artworks could be stored. The crown jewels ended up in an underground tunnel below Windsor Castle where they were packed into a biscuit tin – just in case they needed to be seized quickly if the Germans invaded."

Adam Rutherford on the dark history of eugenics

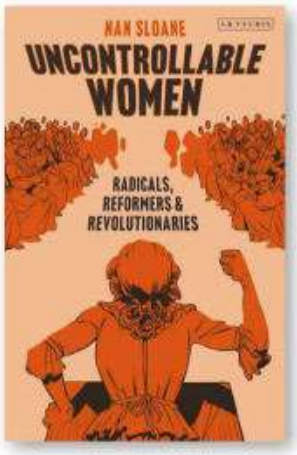
"Population control is an eternal feature of all societies. Plato described it in his *Republic*; Plutarch mentions it as a central pillar of Spartan society. Infanticide, or selecting between what might be seen as desirable or undesirable children, has been part of population control methods for thousands of years. It became "eugenics" in the post-Darwin era, during the 19th century. But the same idea stands – it's selective breeding."

ON THE H PODCAST

WOMEN

The good fight

DIANE ATKINSON applauds an insightful and inspiring history of political and social action by women around the turn of the 19th century



Uncontrollable Women: Radicals, Reformers and Revolutionaries
by Nan Sloane
IB Tauris, 304 pages, £20

Slaughter of the innocents A colourised detail of *The Massacre of Peterloo or Britons Strike Home*, George Cruikshank's depiction of a notorious incident in 1819 in which four female protesters lost their lives

On 16 August 1819 at St Peter's Fields, Manchester, violence hung heavy in the air. Some 80,000 protesters had converged there to demand the reform of parliamentary representation and manhood suffrage. Within their ranks were around 9,000 vocal women, proudly carrying banners.

Incensed by the demonstration, the authorities ordered for the crowds to be dispersed, and the protesters were charged by cavalry. Of the 18 who died as a result, four were women; indeed, it is estimated that more than one-quarter of the 654 casualties were women. An eyewitness recalled that "a woman who was near the spot where I stood, and who held an infant in her arms, was sabred over the head, and her tender offspring DRENCHED IN ITS MOTHER'S BLOOD".

This episode is recounted halfway through an epic history of revolutionary, reforming, protesting actions by women spanning nearly half a century, vividly written by Nan Sloane. From wide and deep archive research, the author brings together for the first time fascinating and extraordinary stories of women from both educated middle-class and humble working-class backgrounds, many of them unknown: Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Jemima Bamford, Hannah Smith, Mary Fildes and Jane Carlile, to name just a few.

This immensely enjoyable book benefits enormously from a forensic mining of the archives to retrieve such women's stories, many lost for 200 years or more. (One quibble: a rather more detailed index would enable readers to find specific women more quickly.)

Uncontrollable Women is framed by the French Revolution and the story of the best-known of Sloane's women, Mary Wollstonecraft. The "hyena in petticoats", as she was dubbed by writer and politician Horace Walpole, travelled to France in December 1792, despite friends begging her not to do so, shortly after the publication of her seminal feminist text *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. In Paris she witnessed King Louis XVI being taken to trial; he was, of course, later guillotined. Wollstonecraft's heartbeat is the soundtrack to this book; her death at the age of 38, caused by complications from the birth of her daughter Mary (later, wife of Percy Shelley and author of *Frankenstein*), left a huge vacuum in feminist campaigning.

Sloane's narrative is bookended by the Reform Act of 1832, which signalled the start of the organised campaign for women's suffrage. It extended the franchise to give the vote to "male persons" who lived in the counties and boroughs and were small landowners, tenant farmers and shopkeepers (and in the boroughs, householders who paid an annual rent of £10 or more). This added another 300,000 new *male* voters to the existing electorate of 500,000. But it was also the first statutory bar to women voting – a fact that incensed and inspired the following four generations of feminists and suffragists, who argued that women's equality could not progress until women had a voice in parliament. Women's entitlement to vote was not achieved until 1918.

> **"Mary Wollstonecraft's heartbeat is the soundtrack to this book. The death of the 'hyena in petticoats' left a huge vacuum in feminist campaigning"**

Until now, our knowledge of this period of women's social and political history has been thin, its cast list a mere handful of names. *Uncontrollable Women* bristles with brave females: writing, protesting, marching, shouting, pushing and shoving, never keeping quiet and never giving up. H

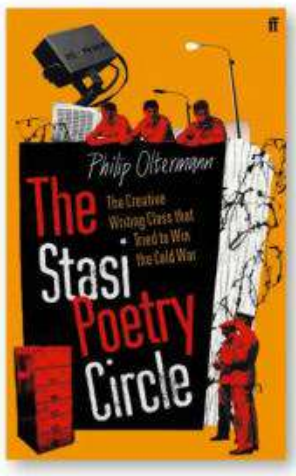
Diane Atkinson is a historian and writer. Her most recent book is *Rise Up, Women! The Remarkable Lives of the Suffragettes* (Bloomsbury, 2018)

GETTY IMAGES

COLD WAR

Sonnets and savagery

HESTER VAIZEY recommends an erudite investigation into the East German secret police's fascination with poetry



The Stasi Poetry Circle
by Philip Oltermann
Faber & Faber,
224 pages, £14.99

When Guardian journalist Philip Oltermann offered to run a poetry club in an old folks' home in King's Cross, he found it a lot more challenging than expected. Some members just wanted a platform to read their own work; others preferred analysing great poetic works from the literary canon. One individual mostly just nodded off.

This experience brought to mind an article Oltermann had read in news magazine *Der Spiegel* a few years earlier, about a circle of Stasi poets. Were those verse writers of the East German secret police an equally motley crew? And how did their leader manage such a group in a regime not known for encouraging freedom of thought or expression? *The Stasi Poetry Circle* is the result of Oltermann's search for answers to these questions, uncovering a little-explored area of Germany's second dictatorship of the 20th century.

The Stasi – the eyes and ears of the dictatorship in communist East Germany – was infamous for watching and trailing its political opponents before hauling them in for lengthy interrogations. The revelation that members of the Stasi's elite Felix Dzerzhinsky Guards Regiment were whimsical word-smiths is, therefore, rather surprising. However, it reflects the fact that the East German regime recognised the power of culture to bolster or, alternatively, undermine support for their communist outlook. If the pen is, indeed, mightier than the sword, then the regime would have been foolish not to weaponise it as a mouthpiece for its message.

The writings of several of Oltermann's East German bards, it turns out, revealed ambiguous sentiments about the regime. Oltermann's erudite unpacking of their literary offerings inevitably makes this book less accessible than his last work, *Keeping Up With the Germans*. However, he sets his poets in the wider context beautifully, adding an unexpected piece to the puzzle of what made the East German dictatorship and its citizens tick. And his careful analysis of their poems will undoubtedly find fans among those who enjoy literary criticism of the poetic form. H

Hester Vaizey, author of *Born in the GDR: Living in the Shadow of the Wall* (Oxford University Press, 2014)

Secret snaps
A camera used by Stasi agents to spy on dissidents. Some secret police also had a penchant for poetry

ALAMY/AKG-IMAGES

FROM FACT TO FICTION

Devotion and death

DV Bishop on his gripping new historical novel, *The Darkest Sin*

Your book is set in Renaissance Florence. Why choose that setting?
The Florence of the period is built on beauty and bloodshed. Classical art and architecture are revived and surpassed, ushering Europe toward modernity. But the city is riven by political intrigue, too. It is home to great artists, yet also inspires Machiavelli to write *The Prince* – a guide to keeping power at any cost. That duality makes it a perfect setting for historical thrillers.

Much of the action takes place in a convent. How did you research the history of such institutions in the city?
I visited Florence before lockdown, but no convents from 1537 – the year in which my book is set – remain as they were; spaces where nuns lived were not deemed worth preserving. So I went to San Marco, a convent that is now a museum. Floorplans from lost convents helped fill in the gaps, and I read all I could find about convent life in this period.

Were you inspired by any real people?
Yes. One such figure was the archbishop of Florence of that time, who spent years fleecing the city's faithful. Another was Virginia Galilei, illegitimate daughter of astronomer Galileo Galilei. Considered unworthy for marriage, she took the veil to became Sister Maria Celeste.

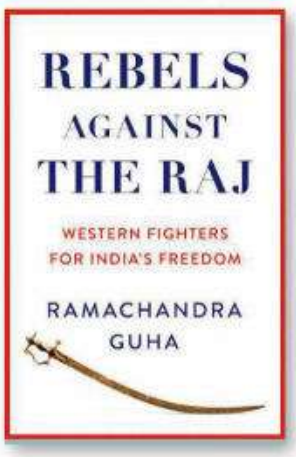
This is a sequel to *City of Vengeance*, also set in Renaissance Florence. What drew you back there?
Nearly 500 years ago, Florence had a criminal justice system comparable to a modern police force, with investigating officers and courts. That enables my detective, Cesare Aldo, to move between all levels of Renaissance society. I can write about people who are often left out of history, telling their stories in fast-paced novels that also respect the past.

The Darkest Sin
by DV Bishop
(Pan Macmillan, 432 pages, £16.99)

INDIA

Resisting the Raj

CHANDRIKA KAUL appraises a celebratory study of seven western men and women who threw their weight behind India's struggle for freedom from British colonial rule



Rebels Against the Raj: Western Fighters for India's Freedom
by Ramachandra Guha
William Collins, 496 pages, £25

In his new study, Ramachandra Guha provides seven biographies of "white-skinned heroes and heroines", selected on the grounds that they "decisively changed sides, identifying completely with India, meeting Indians on absolutely equal terms as friends and lovers, and as comrades on the street and in prison too". Overall, his book is a passionate paean of praise and, though there is much to admire in his protagonists, such an approach runs the risk of not offering a sufficiently nuanced "warts and all" picture, especially given its biographical format.

Guha's stated objective is to tell "a new (or new-ish) story". On that basis, the first "rebel" featured is a surprising choice, because Annie Besant is one of the best-known British champions of India. Several earlier biographers have extolled her contribution towards the project of Indian "regeneration" based on a blend of the traditional and the modern. Though initially eschewing politics, she became a staunch supporter of Indian home rule, and was even elected the first female president of the Indian National Congress.

Other rebels discussed include journalist Benjamin Guy Horniman, who believed freedom of press knew no racial or national boundaries. Guha also examines Samuel Evans Stokes, an American Quaker who left the church and immersed himself in all things Indian, marrying a Christian woman of Rajput origin, changing his name to Satyanand and joining Mahatma Gandhi and the nationalist movement.

Another Englishwoman, Madeleine Slade, also features. Given the byname Mira Behn by Gandhi, she became his adopted "daughter"; a constant presence in his life and work, she is widely known from her depiction in the film *Gandhi*, made with her collaboration.

Guha also recounts the inspirational story of American missionary Ralph Richard (Dick) Keithahn (supported for some of the time by his wife, Mildred), who served rural communities in south India both before and after independence. The book concludes with the story of Catherine Mary Heilemann, who travelled from London to Udaipur in 1932 to work in a new schooling experiment inspired by Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scout movement. Later joining Gandhi's circle, she was active in social and environmental work.

> **"Annie Besant is one of the best-known British champions of India, and was elected the first female president of the Indian National Congress"**

I enjoyed reading these well-written and -researched narratives, particularly the last quarter of the volume in which Guha carries the stories forward into post-colonial India. He believes that these figures' lives "may yet be relevant for India's future" and sets them up as role models. This is a laudable endeavour, but a rather daunting prospect given that, in his analysis, the "rebels" all come across as super-men and women. Above all else, for Guha this book offers "a morality tale for the world we currently live in". H

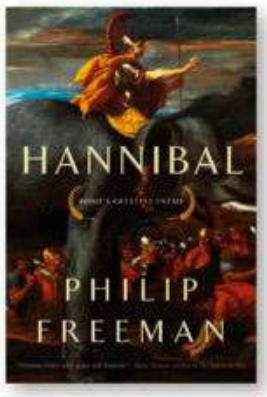
Chandrika Kaul is professor of modern history at the University of St Andrews

Joining the fight
Indians and Englishwoman Annie Besant (centre) protest the rise in salt tax, 1923. She is one of seven westerners who challenged the British Raj to be profiled in a new book

GETTY IMAGES

ANCIENT ROME

Teacher of war

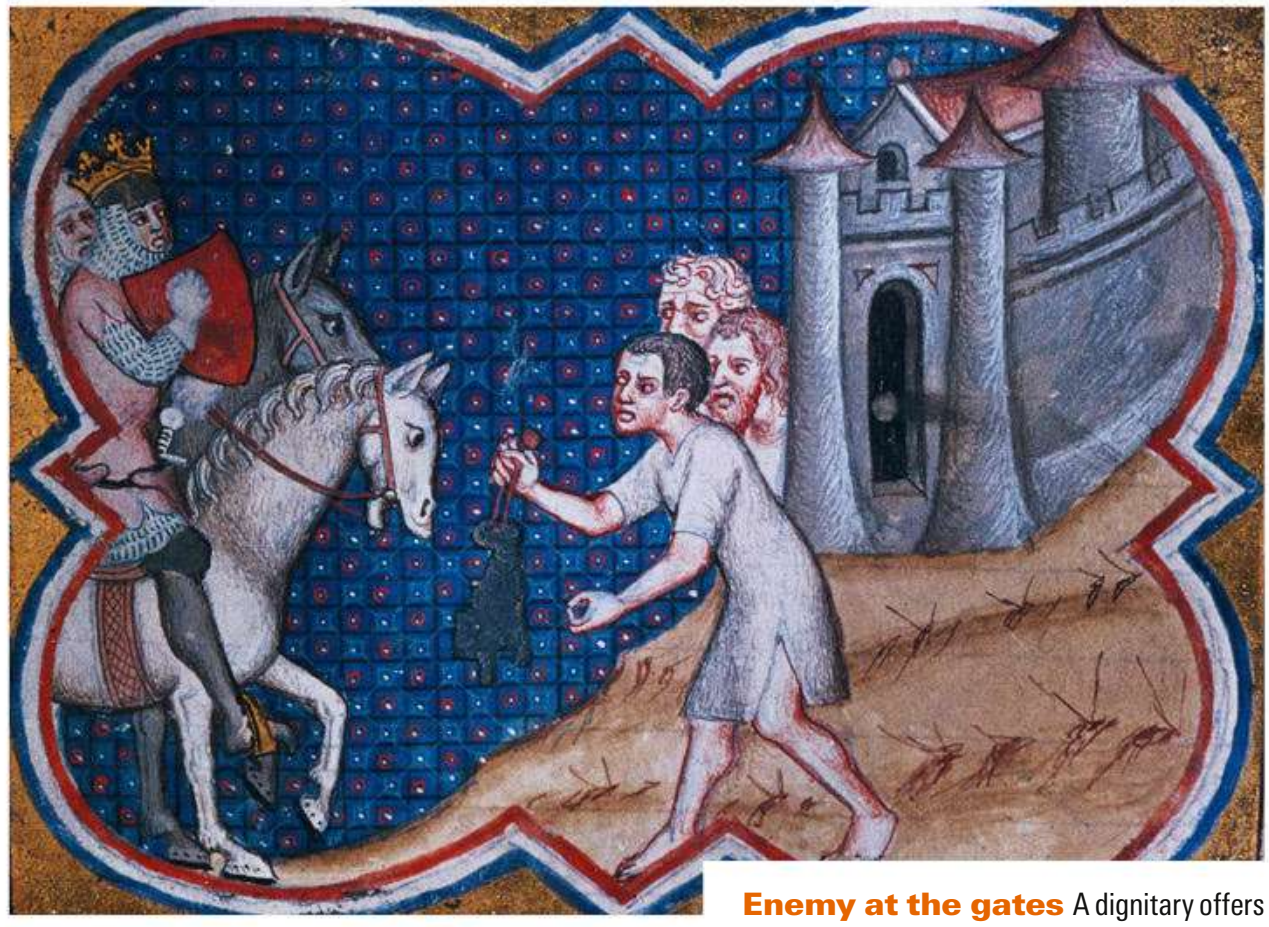


Hannibal: Rome's Greatest Enemy
by Philip Freeman
Pegasus Books, 240 pages, £22

Was Hannibal Rome's "greatest enemy"? Probably. He came dizzyingly close to wiping out the Roman Republic in the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) after his dazzling victories at Trasimene and Cannae in Italy. If he had followed that up with a win in his home territory at Zama (now in Tunisia), the rest of Roman – and possibly world – history might have been very different, as Philip Freeman considers in his epilogue. Hannibal had the chance to take Rome but didn't, "because he believed it was unnecessary".

Hannibal made few mistakes in his career, as Freeman is at pains to point out, but the Carthaginian general's greatest error of all was to not understand his enemy. He assumed that the Romans would do what any foe might have done after crushing debacles, but he was wrong: they never surrendered.

Another of the author's insights is to argue that, by fighting the Romans at all, Hannibal forced the Roman army to grow up. Gone were the days of sons of the soil defending their homeland; rather, in that maturing army we see the beginnings of the military might that would bestride the known world like a colossus – and Hannibal showed them how to do it. According to Freeman, he "was the best teacher of war that Rome ever had".



Enemy at the gates A dignitary offers Hannibal the keys to the ancient city of Compsa, as depicted in a 14th-century manuscript. The Carthaginian general "was the best teacher of war that Rome ever had", says Philip Freeman

It was the supreme irony for a man who almost annihilated the Roman army and came close to sacking Rome. But that was never Hannibal's intention: he had only ever wanted "to restore the glory and power of Carthage to the days before the conflict with Rome began". It never came to pass: the Romans destroyed Hannibal's city in 146 BC, decades after his death, during the Third Punic War.

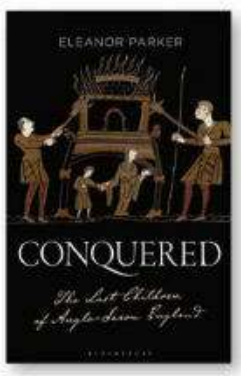
One of the book's great strengths is that Freeman doesn't fall into the easy trap of condemning Rome but, rather, is more balanced. The Roman world was no idyll, but its survival created the foundations of our modern world, including many of its greatest assets – albeit at a price.

This historian, at least, would have preferred rather fuller endnotes. That being said, this book is an excellent read. H

Guy de la Bédoyère, author of *Gladius: Living, Fighting and Dying in the Roman Army* (Little, Brown, 2021)

NORMANS

Family futures



Conquered
by Eleanor Parker
Bloomsbury, 272 pages, £20

We all know the 1066 story: Edward the Confessor dies; Harold Godwinson succeeds him; William of Normandy seizes the crown; England becomes Norman.

So far, so obvious – but this excellent book offers an original premise: that there is much new to learn by considering the children whose lives were upended by the Conquest. This is, in part, a story of the sins of the fathers, as Eleanor Parker explores how Harold's children carved out new lives post-1066 despite their damaged prospects.

Some of Harold's relatives lived and prospered outside Norman England. Their lives are remembered not in English nor Norman records but, rather, in Scandinavian sources, because "the future of this family did not lie in England, and they were soon forgotten there". You have to turn to Old Norse histories to learn, for instance, that Harold's daughter, Gytha, married the future grand prince of Kiev and was the ancestor of kings and queens across Europe.

Parker contends that the deeds of the offspring of the ousted Harold would have been an awkward subject, best avoided by Anglo-Norman writers. The situation was, though, more complicated for the surviving relatives of Edward the Confessor. His great-nephew Edgar presented a possible threat to William and was briefly a focus for English resistance. It's not surprising, then, that his was "an uncomfortable side-story… in the larger narrative of Anglo-Norman England".

Edgar's sister Margaret did, however, have a role to play in this narrative. She wed King Malcolm III of Scotland, and their daughter married Henry I of England. Margaret's life thus "provided a popular way of thinking about how some form of Anglo-Saxon culture might be transmitted to the post-conquest world".

Parker insightfully shows how the experiences of these children of Anglo-Saxons (among others) illustrate the accommodations being made in England as conquered and conquerors adjusted to the new reality, and reframed the 1066 narrative for future generations. H

David Musgrove, co-author of *The Story of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Thames & Hudson, 2021)

ALAMY

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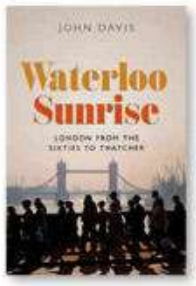
WORDS BY **RHIANNON DAVIES & MATT ELTON**

ELF

ALSO ON THE BOOKSHELF

SOCIAL

Waterloo Sunrise
by John Davis
(Princeton University Press, 600 pages, £30)



London calling

During the 1960s and 70s, Britain's capital was transformed, being mythologised in the mid-sixties as a "swinging" city, with its West End shows and Chelsea pot parties. But as the seventies drew to a close, London was in the grip of deindustrialisation, with unemployment rocketing. In each chapter of this colourful book John Davis explores different aspects of the changing city, from cabbies to the sex trade.

IRELAND

Burning the Big House
by Terence Dooley
(Yale University Press, 368 pages, £25)

Stoking the fires

From 1912 to 1923 Ireland was engulfed by revolutionary fervour, with bloody insurrections breaking out. Terence Dooley examines this period from a novel perspective: through the "Big Houses". Owned by British elites, these were viewed as symbols of colonial oppression, and revolutionaries razed many of them. Dooley explains how land control struggles and the impact of war led to their destruction.

WW2

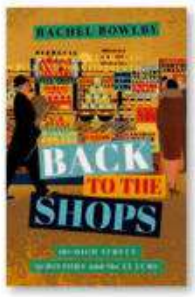
The Island of Extraordinary Captives
by Simon Parkin
(Hodder & Stoughton, 496 pages, £20)

Unexpected imprisonment

When the Second World War began, thousands of refugees from Germany and Austria came to Britain, desperate to escape Nazism. But they were often greeted with suspicion, and 30,000 of these asylum seekers – some of whom were leading artists and academics – were sent to internment camps on the Isle of Man. Simon Parkin shares their gripping stories.

COMMERCE

Back to the Shops
by Rachel Bowlby
(Oxford University Press, 288 pages, £14.99)



Retail therapy

Shopping has long been a staple of human life, from medieval pedlars to the sprawling superstores of the modern day. But how have our retail habits changed over time? Rachel Bowlby sets out to answer exactly that, focusing largely on the evolution of shops in the last two centuries. With the rise of internet shopping throwing the future of the high street into uncertainty, this is a timely and intriguing read.

FICTION

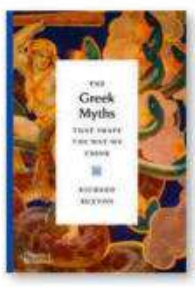
The Clockwork Girl
by Anna Mazzola
(Orion, 368 pages, £14.99)

Plot mechanics

In 18th-century Paris, Madeleine Chastel is given a position as chambermaid at the home of clockmaker Maximilian Reinhart, famed for his mechanical creations, and his enigmatic daughter. Children are disappearing from the city's streets, and their seemingly respectable home may be masking something sinister. Madeleine must use her role to find out more, but finds herself drawn into a web of intrigue...

CULTURAL

The Greek Myths that Shape the Way We Think
by Richard Buxton
(Thames & Hudson, 304 pages, £20)



Never-ending stories

Greek myths are many centuries old – yet, this book argues, they continue to shape ideas, morality and politics in today's world. From the ever-adaptable story of Prometheus, punished by his fellow gods for championing or even creating humanity, to the woes apparently brought about by Pandora's curiosity, classical scholar Richard Buxton explores these tales and their cultural impact.

SOCIAL

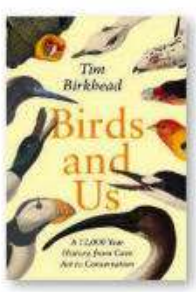
This Mortal Coil: A History of Death
by Andrew Doig
(Bloomsbury, 384 pages, £25)

End times

Death and taxes, the idiom reminds us, are the only certainties. And though the former may, on the face of it, seem more universally constant, this book explores how the ways in which we die have been transformed by the ways in which we live. From the decline of famine and violence to a rise in non-communicable diseases, this is an epic history of the human experience told through the prism of how it ends.

CULTURAL

Birds and Us: A 12,000-Year History, from Cave Art to Conservation
by Tim Birkhead
(Viking, 464 pages, £25)



Flocking together

Whether being praised as deities or harvested for food, birds have had a close relationship with humanity for thousands of years. This lively history from academic and ornithologist Tim Birkhead charts the myriad ways in which societies from ancient Egypt to the 21st century have understood the avian world. It's feathered throughout with historical case studies and personal anecdotes. H

ALAMY

ENCOUNTERS

DIARY: VISIT / WATCH / LISTEN / TASTE
By **Jonathan Wright, Samantha Nott** and **Rhiannon Davies**
94 EXPLORE... Llandudno, Conwy

WATCH

Unusual suspects

Only one painting has ever been stolen from London's National Gallery, where security is a prime concern. You might therefore expect that master criminals orchestrated this theft, which, in its day, caused a sensation – so much so that the first James Bond movie, *Dr No*, featured a playful nod to the affair.

In fact, the alleged culprit – not identified until four years after Francisco de Goya's portrait of the Duke of Wellington was taken, in 1961 – was a pensioner from Newcastle called Kempton Bunton. So what exactly happened? The director of public prosecutions' file on the case was released in 2012, and is available to read in the National Archives. But don't hurry to read spoilers – not when new comedy-drama film *The Duke* makes merry with a story that, when you hear it for the first time, defies belief.

Jim Broadbent gives a warm and nuanced performance as Kempton, a man who campaigned for pensioners and those on low incomes to be exempt from paying the TV licence fee, and whose ransom letters for the portrait promised he would return it if more money were invested in care for the elderly. Helen Mirren plays Kempton's wife, Dorothy.

The Duke
In cinemas from Friday 25 February

Disappearing duke
Jim Broadbent and Helen Mirren, as Kempton Bunton and his wife, Dorothy, with the Goya portrait he allegedly stole from the National Gallery in 1961

A performance of *The Romans in Britain* in 1980. The play provoked the ire of conservative activist Mary Whitehouse

LISTEN

Moral crusader

It's 40 years since conservative Christian campaigner Mary Whitehouse (1910–2001) brought a private prosecution against theatre director Michael Bogdanov for gross indecency. The case centred on his production of *The Romans in Britain*, a play dealing with imperialism and abuses of power, which featured a scene of simulated homosexual rape.

That case seems especially pertinent to an era in which we are worried about social media disinformation and so-called cancel culture. In a new BBC Radio 4 programme, Samira Ahmed looks back at the *Romans* trial and at other campaigns that established Whitehouse as a familiar figure in British public life. There is, we're told, a twist in the tale.

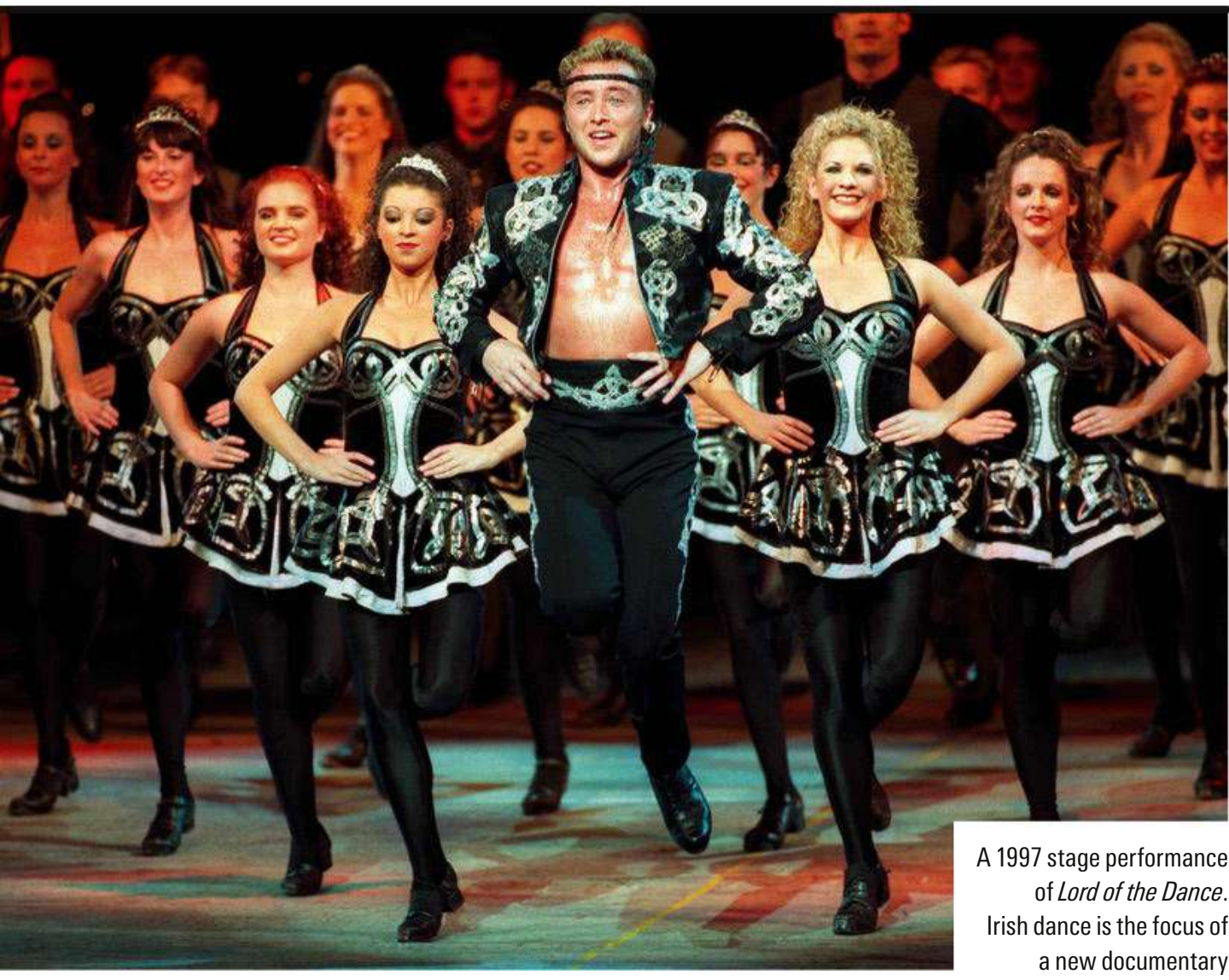
Archive on 4: Disgusted Mary Whitehouse
BBC Radio 4 / Saturday 5 March

VISIT

Overlooked links

Britain's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade is well documented, but an exhibition in Exeter is now shining a light specifically on the terrible trade's links to Devon. Historical collections and contemporary works illuminating the county's involvement with slavery include a new textile piece (below) commissioned from artist Joy Gregory. The Royal Albert Memorial Museum's own connections to the trade are also explored: founded in Victoria's reign, some of its donors had links with people who profited from the sale of enslaved people.

In Plain Sight: Transatlantic Slavery and Devon
Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery, Exeter / Until 29 May / *rammuseum.org.uk*



A 1997 stage performance of *Lord of the Dance*. Irish dance is the focus of a new documentary

WATCH

Feet of imagination

Thanks in no small part to Michael Flatley's stage shows *Riverdance* – devised as an interval performance for the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest – and *Lord of the Dance*, traditional Irish dancing has gone international. But is there a deeper significance to moves made famous by Flatley?

Yes, says a BBC Four documentary, which mixes archive film and photography with specially created dance scenes. As well as tracing the story of Irish dance at home, the programme explores why the genre now has such a global reach, and looks at its intersections with the dance cultures of other countries, including the influence of Irish dance on the development of tap in the US.

Steps of Freedom: The Story of Irish Dance
BBC Four / Expected to air in March

SHUTTERSTOCK/GETTY IMAGES/ROYAL ALBERT MEMORIAL ART GALLERY

Frida Gustavsson joins the new generation of *Vikings* as Leif Erikson's sister Freydís Eiríksdóttir

WATCH

Vikings on the move

Over six seasons, the first of which aired in 2013, the History Channel's *Vikings* offered a gnarly, gritty, visceral take on the era when Norse adventurers set out on voyages of discovery, pillage and conquest. It was something of a sleeper hit, so it's no surprise to find a sequel series making shore via Netflix this winter.

Set a century after the original and reportedly due to run for at least 24 episodes, *Vikings: Valhalla* features Leif Erikson (c970– c1020), played by Australian actor Sam Corlett, as a central character. Based on accounts from the Icelandic sagas, it's believed that Erikson may have been the first European to set foot on continental North America. Frida Gustavsson stars as Leif's sister and fellow explorer Freydís Eiríksdóttir. Another key character is Harald Sigurdsson (c1015–66), played by Leo Suter, who reigned as king of Norway for two decades but who always had bigger ambitions.

It begins – yes, there's a certain amount of timeline mashing going on for dramatic purposes – with the St Brice's Day Massacre, when Æthelred the Unready targeted Vikings living in England.

Vikings: Valhalla
Netflix / Streaming from Friday 25 February

NETFLIX/BRIDGEMAN

WEEKLY TV & RADIO
Visit **historyextra.com** for weekly updates on upcoming television and radio programmes

HISTORY ON THE AIRWAVES

"On the face of it the Bayeux Tapestry is a piece of Norman propaganda, but it's actually very ambiguous"

Writer **ABIGAIL YOUNGMAN** (left) discusses her new radio programme about the famous embroidery, and the insights she's gained into its meanings and creation

How did this documentary come about?
A few years back I wrote a play about the making of the Bayeux Tapestry [*Bayeux*, BBC Radio 4, starring Katy Brand]. And the reason I got interested in writing that play was because I'd read a newspaper article about how ambiguous the Tapestry is. On the face of it, it's a piece of propaganda for the Normans. It was likely commissioned by Bishop Odo of Bayeux [William the Conqueror's half-brother], and it's saying that William was absolutely entitled to become king of England, the Normans were justified in invading, and Harold Godwinson was a bad man.

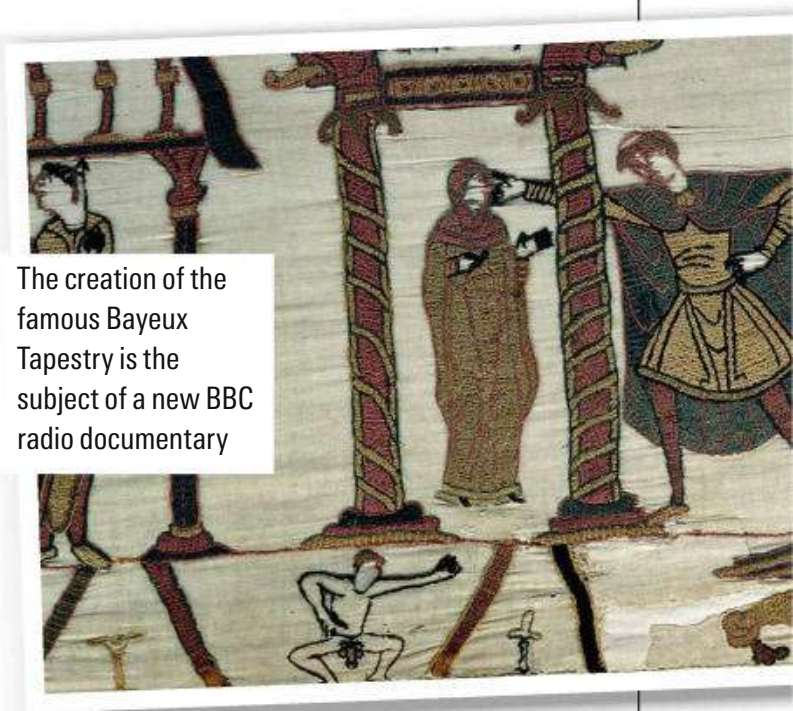
But when you look at the Tapestry, Harold isn't portrayed as entirely bad. Also, there's a big subtext about how hard life was for the Anglo-Saxons after the invasion. And there are funny figures in the margins: naked couples, animals doing all sorts of naughty things. There are fables pictured, too – the kinds of images that can also be found in the margins of medieval manuscripts.

How should we interpret these images in the margins?
We can say that the figures are commenting on the main frieze, but that doesn't in itself explain what they're saying. Some of the images, for example, seem to show sexual violence. There is a naked couple who some people think are Adam and Eve, because there are precedents in manuscripts. But with a modern eye – and, in particular, a female eye – you think: "That doesn't look great! What's going on there?"

Does the way the Tapestry was made help explain these images?
Historians are cautious about this because of a lack of definitive evidence, but it may be that one of the reasons the Tapestry is ambiguous and not entirely pro-Norman is that it was probably sewn by Anglo-Saxon women. English embroidery had a great reputation at this time – it's very skilled work. I thought: "That's so interesting. What were the women's circumstances?" The documentary is a chance for me to ask some leading historians what they think.

What parts of society did those embroiderers occupy?
That's hard to know, but it's likely they were mostly upper-class and noble women, just because – although this is conjecture – the hard graft of living meant that lower-class women probably didn't have a lot of time for learning embroidery (though some middle-class women also embroidered). We know, for example, that Edith of Wessex [c1025–75], Edward the Confessor's wife and Harold's sister, was a skilled seamstress. She would embroider things for Edward because apparently he wasn't a very stylish dresser. H

Women in Stitches: The Making of the Bayeux Tapestry will be broadcast on BBC Radio 4 on Tuesday 22 February. Abigail's comedy-drama *Bayeux* is available to stream now from BBC Sounds



The creation of the famous Bayeux Tapestry is the subject of a new BBC radio documentary

HISTORY COOKBOOK

Woolton pie contributed to a nutritious diet for Britons in the Second World War

TASTE

Woolton pie

This vegetarian dish was served during the Second World War, when meat and other key ingredients were in short supply. Created at London's Savoy Hotel, it's named for Lord Woolton, then minister of food. Despite efforts to popularise this pie, the public – who preferred a meat filling – gave it a lukewarm reception.

Difficulty: 3/10 **Time:** 1.5 hours

INGREDIENTS

Filling
500g each potatoes, cauliflower, swede and carrot, all chopped
4 spring onions, chopped
1 tsp vegetable extract or 1 stock cube
1 tbsp rolled oats
Pastry
150g wholemeal flour
75g butter, cold and chopped into cubes
8 tbsp cold water

METHOD

1. For the pastry, put the flour in a mixing bowl and add the butter.
2. Rub the butter into the flour with your fingers until it resembles breadcrumbs.
3. Add the water to make a soft dough.
4. Refrigerate the pastry for 30 minutes, then roll it out to a size big enough to cover the top of your pie dish.
5. For the filling, put the vegetables, vegetable extract and rolled oats in a saucepan, add an inch or so of water and stir to avoid sticking. Cook for 10 minutes. Once cooled, transfer the mixture to a pie dish.
6. Cover with pastry and bake at 180°C for 40 minutes, or until the top is browned.

VISIT

Healing through art

Although the UK emerged victorious from the Second World War, as a nation it was also deeply scarred – traumatised by the loss of life it had suffered. And the postwar decades of the 1950s and 60s, overshadowed by the Cold War and the looming threat of nuclear destruction, offered little respite from the tension.

These anxieties bubbled to the surface in works created between 1945 and 1965 by artists seeking to come to terms with the past and forge a new world around them. Around 200 have been brought together in a new exhibition at the Barbican, which features pieces by famous painters such as Francis Bacon, as well as artists from across Britain's fragmenting empire.

Still Life by Anwar Jalal Shemza, 1957. Some 200 paintings, photographs and sculptures feature in an exploration of postwar art in Britain

Postwar Modern: New Art in Britain, 1945–65
Barbican Art Gallery, London / 3 March – 26 June / Booking essential / *barbican.org.uk*

VISIT

Queen in waiting

Five hundred years ago this month, a piece of Tudor history was made. On 4 March 1522, Anne Boleyn made her first recorded appearance at court during the sumptuous Chateau Vert pageant, playing the character of Perseverance. That casting proved apt: nine long years later she ousted Henry VIII's first wife, Catherine of Aragon, to secure a royal wedding – and the throne – for herself.

A new exhibition at Hever Castle, Anne's childhood home, focuses on her youth and the key events that shaped her. Displays include letters and portraits documenting her education at Hever alongside her sister Mary, who became the king's mistress, and her time at the refined French court as a teenager. It also features a spectacular recreation of the set of the Chateau Vert.

Becoming Anne: Connections, Culture, Court
Hever Castle, Kent / 4 March–22 November / Booking essential / *hevercastle.co.uk*

Anne Boleyn's early years are explored in displays at Hever Castle

HEVER CASTLE/BARBICAN ART GALLERY

Dr Shini Somara takes viewers across the world to see the engineering marvels of the industrial revolution

WATCH

World building

Evidence of the engineering feats of the industrial revolution are all around us, yet perhaps we sometimes take the ingenuity of our forebears for granted. With her new series *Smoke and Steel*, mechanical engineer Dr Shini Somara aims to make you look anew, showcasing industrial heritage around the world.

Some of this heritage – an ironclad warship, San Francisco's Mint – is on a vast scale. But several of the most fascinating innovations turn out to be more modest – for example, Saltburn Cliff Tramway, a water-balanced funicular in North Yorkshire (above). Drone and CGI footage expertly showcases such dramatic sites.

Smoke and Steel
Yesterday / Begins Monday 14 February

WATCH

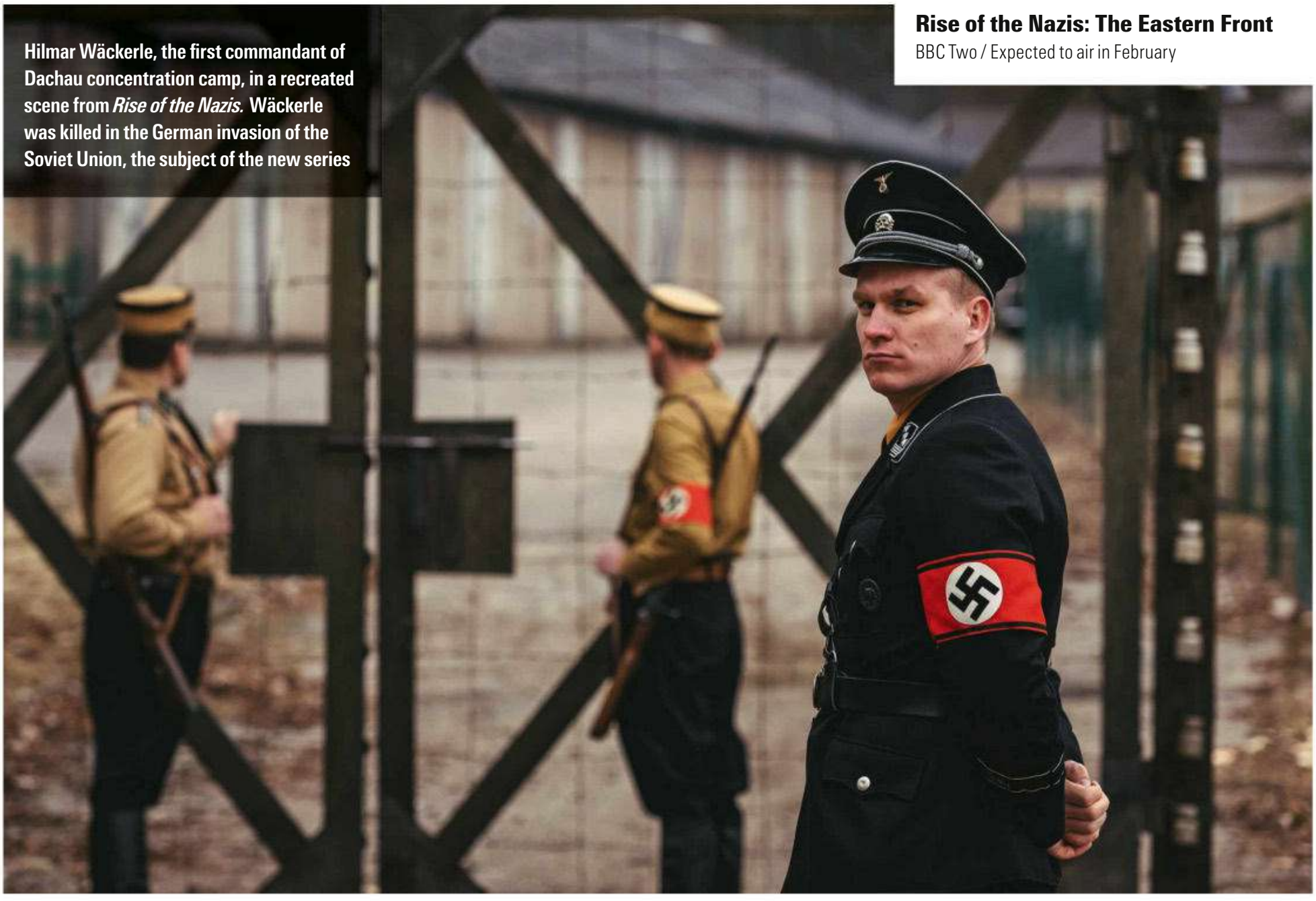
Fateful ambition

In 1940, following Nazi Germany's invasion of western Europe, Adolf Hitler was at the zenith of his power. In June, the führer secretly journeyed to occupied Paris, where he visited the tomb of Napoleon Bonaparte. Already, Hitler's thoughts were turning to an ambition that France's emperor tried but failed to achieve: building an eastern empire in Russia.

The scene was set for Operation Barbarossa – the biggest land invasion in history, involving more than 3 million German troops – which commenced in June 1941. It was a huge risk; by attacking the USSR, Germany was opening itself up to a war on two fronts.

So why did Hitler take on Stalin and the Red Army? What were the impacts of his military meddling – for example, his opposition to an early strike against Soviet forces defending Moscow? And how did a combination of initial success followed by catastrophic defeats affect his hold on power in Germany? These questions and more are considered in a new semi-dramatised series, a three-part follow-up to *Rise of the Nazis* (2019). H

Rise of the Nazis: The Eastern Front
BBC Two / Expected to air in February



Hilmar Wäckerle, the first commandant of Dachau concentration camp, in a recreated scene from *Rise of the Nazis.* Wäckerle was killed in the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the subject of the new series

YESTERDAY/BBC

A Welsh wonderland

In the Victorian era droves of holidaymakers descended on Llandudno – including the little girl who inspired *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. **MALCOLM SMITH** delves into the town's intriguing history

No other coastal resort in Britain can boast its own wild-living goats. A gift from the shah of Persia to Queen Victoria in 1837, white Kashmiri goats wandering Llandudno's deserted streets attracted global media attention during the first Covid-19 lockdown. Their usual home – the Great Orme's Head, the huge limestone promontory forming an impressive backdrop to the town – is where Llandudno originated, as a copper mining centre in the Bronze Age. Today the mines are open to visitors.

The town enjoyed a tourism heyday in the Victorian era, thanks to the arrival of the railway. In 1848 when the Chester and Holyhead railway opened along the north Wales coast, Owen Williams, a Liverpool surveyor, presented local landowner Lord Mostyn with plans for a holiday resort on the flat coastal land below the Great Orme. Soon a branch line brought the railway into the town centre. Boasting two beaches, Llandudno became a notable bathing centre.

Hotels and guest houses prospered, catering for every stratum of society. Most shopfronts had glass verandas supported by ornate ironwork, so shoppers could shelter from the rain; many are still in place today. In 1890, Queen Elisabeth of Romania spent five weeks at what is today the Marine Hotel. Her visit is commemorated in several of the town's street names.

The electric tram service that connected the town to nearby Colwyn Bay closed in 1956, but the Great Orme Tramway survives. Opened in 1902, its original blue and white cars – rather like San Francisco's – carry passengers from the town's Victoria Station to near the Great Orme summit, a 200-metre climb. It has breathtakingly steep gradients.

Opened in 1877 and located on the north shore, Llandudno's pier – the longest in Wales – is adorned with cast-iron columns, delicate balustrades and lattice-work railings. Today it houses a plethora of amusement arcades, children's fairground rides and food kiosks.

On the promenade nearby is the ever popular *Professor Codman's Wooden Headed Follies* (Punch and Judy) founded by Richard Codman in 1860. Jason Codman Millband, the fifth generation of the family, is today's puppeteer. He still uses the original puppets carved from Llandudno beach driftwood. In summer, children sit mesmerised by performances involving Mr Punch, Crocodile and other characters.

Happy Valley, a former limestone quarry on the slopes above the pier, was developed into gardens popular for Victorian perambulations. Its natural amphitheatre became an open-air theatre and music venue; today it's known for its dry ski slope and toboggan run.

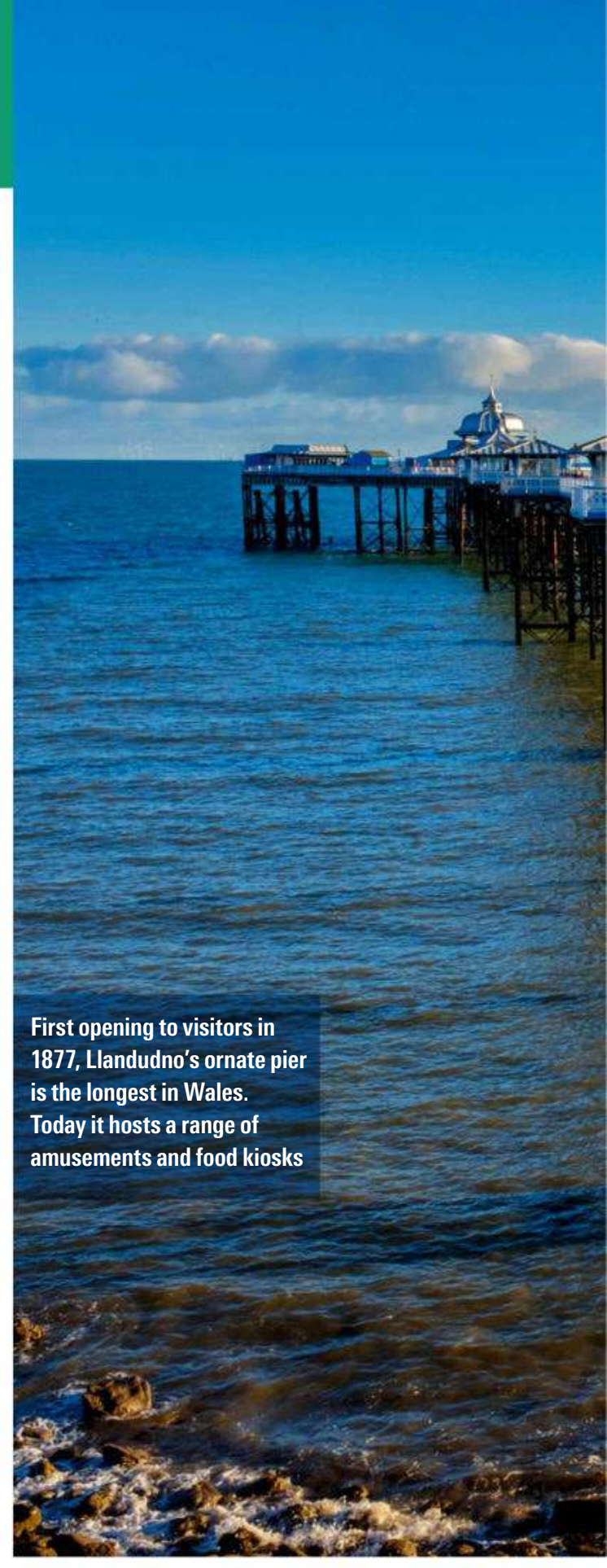
Nearby is the Marine Drive – a four-mile-long clifftop route that encircles the Great Orme and links the west and north shores. It follows a track built in 1856–58 (on which prime minister William Gladstone was blindfolded and led to safety following an attack of vertigo). En route it passes the Great Orme lighthouse, now a B&B.

Llandudno's connections to a little girl named Alice Liddell (the inspiration for the protagonist in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*) remain a major town attraction. Large street sculptures of the Mad Hatter, the Cheshire Cat and other characters from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and related stories link to a self-guided trail and recall Llandudno's Victorian zenith, when the Liddell family holidayed here. H

"Wild white Kashmiri goats wandering the town's deserted streets attracted global media attention in the first lockdown"

Dr Malcolm Smith is a member of the National Lottery Heritage Fund's Committee for Wales

VISIT For more information on Llandudno, go to **visitllandudno.com**



First opening to visitors in 1877, Llandudno's ornate pier is the longest in Wales. Today it hosts a range of amusements and food kiosks

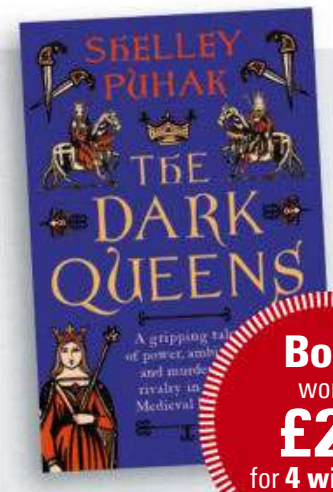
An electric tramcar makes the 200-metre climb to a point near the Great Orme summit

A 19th-century photograph of beachgoers and bathing machines. Llandudno catered for every branch of society

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

The goats that live on the Great Orme's Head are descended from the animals that were gifted to Queen Victoria

PRIZE CROSSWORD

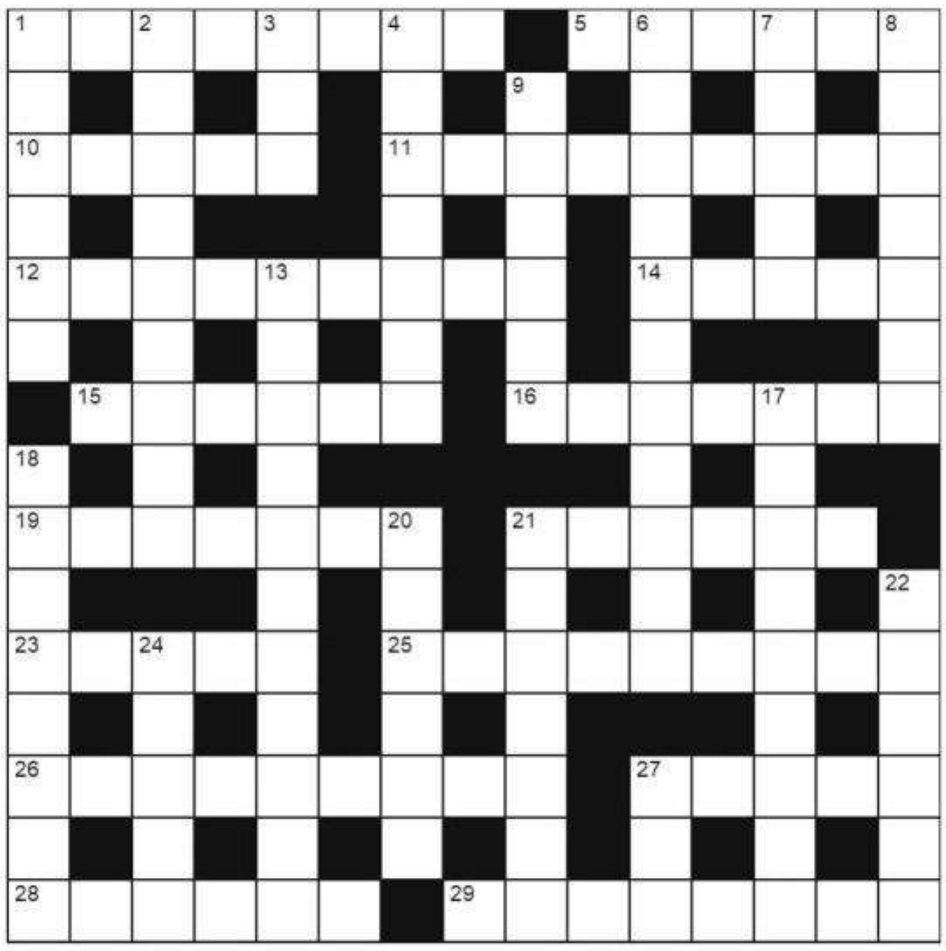


Book worth £25 for 4 winners

The Dark Queens

By Shelley Puhak

This fascinating book tells the stories of medieval queens Brunhild and Fredegund, who wielded immense power over swathes of land and helped shape sixth-century Europe. As well as considering the queens' remarkable achievements, Puhak also explores their fierce rivalry in a gripping tale of murder, intrigue and war.



Across

1 Early 17th-century Mughal emperor, whose name may be translated as "world seizer" (8)
5 Martha ____, a 20th-century American pioneer of modern dance; her "technique" is still taught today (6)
10 Brand name of a popular make of miniature toy (5)
11 The kidnapping and murder of his son in 1932 overshadowed, for a time, his achievements as a record-breaking flier (9)
12 Ancient Greek city on the Argolid coast and home to a sanctuary that is now a Unesco World Heritage Site, named after the son of Apollo (9)
14 He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978, jointly with Menachem Begin (5)
15 Thomas More's satirical work of 1516 (6)
16 After fierce fighting, this island was captured by US forces in 1945 and not returned to Japan until 1972 (7)
19 Perhaps the most powerful one was Ramesses II (flourished 13th century BC) (7)
21 A vast land mass thought to be the site of the earliest humans (6)
23 Now regarded as a major English poet, he enjoyed only a brief period of fame in his lifetime before being confined to an asylum in 1837 (5)
25 Historically controversial area of Germany, re-militarised (contrary to the Treaty of Versailles) by Hitler in 1936 (9)
26 During his time in office, and after his death in 1945, his wife played a formidable role in American public life (9)
27 One of the "Great Train Robbers" who escaped to Australia, then Brazil, eventually returning voluntarily to the UK in 2001 (5)
28 Greek city-state distinguished by its highly disciplined, militaristic culture (6)
29 Experimenter/kite-flier who helped draft the US Declaration of Independence (8)

Down

1 With Galilee and Samaria, one of the three traditional divisions of ancient Palestine (6)
2 Charles I of England's "warrior queen", ____Maria (9)
3 Michel ____, a French marshal whom Napoleon called the "Bravest of the brave" (3)
4 Historical region of the Balkan peninsula, its frontiers once extending from the Danube to the Adriatic (7)
6 Maximilien ____, a key figure in the French Revolution until his overthrow and execution in 1794 (11)
7 A Roman-appointed king of 1 down (37–4 BC), associated in the Bible with the "Massacre of the Innocents" (5)
8 Title (meaning "Great Soul") conferred on Indian leader Gandhi (7)
9 Agency created in 1946 to promote international collaboration in education, science and culture (6)
13 Term used to describe the ineffectual response of the British and French governments to Hitler's expansionist policies (11)
17 The building of St Petersburg in 1703 ended this city's status as Russia's chief seaport (Anglicised name) (9)
18 Influential Greek philosopher (341–270 BC) who established his own school ("The Garden") in Athens (8)
20 William ____, the first known physician to recognise and demonstrate the circulation of blood in the human body (6)
21 Amy Johnson, whose career came to an end in the Thames estuary in 1941, was a famous one of these (7)
22 Perhaps the US's greatest inventor, who played a big role in introducing the modern age of electricity (6)
24 Battle of ____(alternative spelling), the 1896 clash at which the Ethiopian forces of Emperor Menelik II defeated the Italians (5)
27 Indigenous religion of Tibet (3)

Compiled by **Eddie James**

What is the first name of King Charles I's wife and "warrior queen"? *(2 down)*

GETTY IMAGES

HOW TO ENTER

● Open to residents of the UK (& Channel Islands). Post entries to ***BBC History Magazine*, March 2022 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to ***march2022@historycomps.co.uk*** by 5pm on **16 March 2022**. ● Entrants must supply full name, address and phone number. The winners will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. Winners' names will appear in the May 2022 issue. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in full in the box below. Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will use personal details in accordance with the Immediate Privacy Policy at *https://policies.immediate.co.uk/privacy* ● Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) would love to send you newsletters, together with special offers and other promotions. If you would not like to receive these, please write 'NO INFO' on your entry.
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Solution to our January 2022 crossword

Across 7 Sadducees 9 Greco 10 Chester 11 Chariot 12 Livy 14 Goldwater 17 Eylau 18 Locke 22 Sacagawea 24 Mill 25 Lincoln 27 Idi Amin 30 North 31 Lady Astor
Down 1 Edgehill 2 Hunt 3 Peerage 4 Agra 5 De Witt 6 Potteries 7 Sack 8 Sickle 13 Young 15 Wylam 16 Messalina 19 Calamity 20 Zwingli 21 Matilda 23 Cunard 26 Otho 28 Iran 29 Nero

Four winners of *When There Were Birds*
W Murray, Scottish Borders; G Robinson, Poole; H Cullen, Midlothian; A Bailes, Norfolk

CROSSWORD COMPETITION TERMS & CONDITIONS

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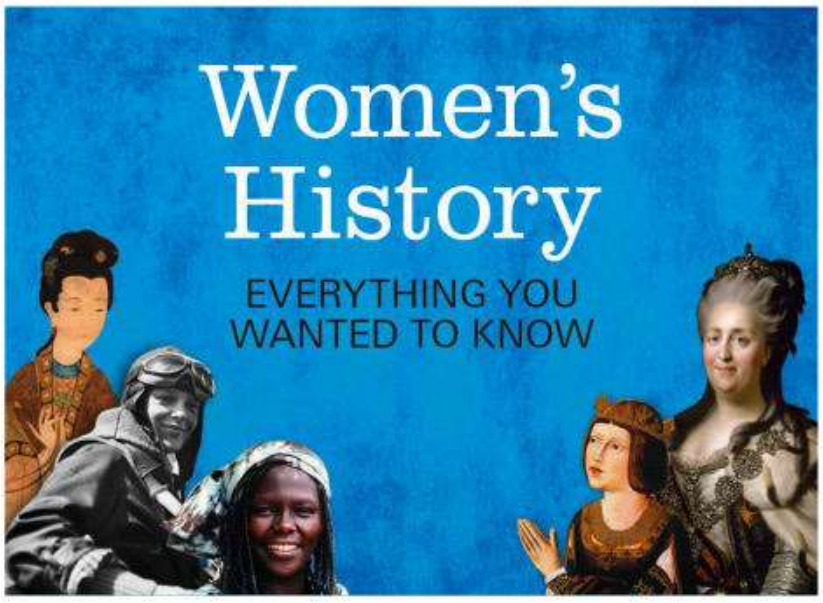

Women's history week

Join us from 7 March 2022 as we explore the histories of women around the world, with new articles on the historical inventions dreamed up by women, and the places women have fought to gain access and representation – plus a brand-new quiz on the suffragettes.
historyextra.com/womens-history

The life and times of Mary, Queen of Scots

Just six days old when she became queen of Scotland, Mary is often remembered for her three doomed marriages, as well as her relationship with her cousin, Elizabeth I. But there's much more to her story, as Dr Linda Porter explains in a guide to her life.
historyextra.com/mary-qos

South Asian women in Regency England

As *Bridgerton* introduces Kate Sharma, whose story may draw on histories of women of Asian heritage in Regency England, Durba Ghosh reveals how people of Asian descent socialised in the ballrooms of Georgian London.
historyextra.com/bridgerton-women

Newsletters

We've recently launched several themed newsletters bringing you the latest developments in some of the most popular periods of the past. Sign up to receive regular updates of historical news, as well as details of the new articles, podcasts and videos that are available on our website.
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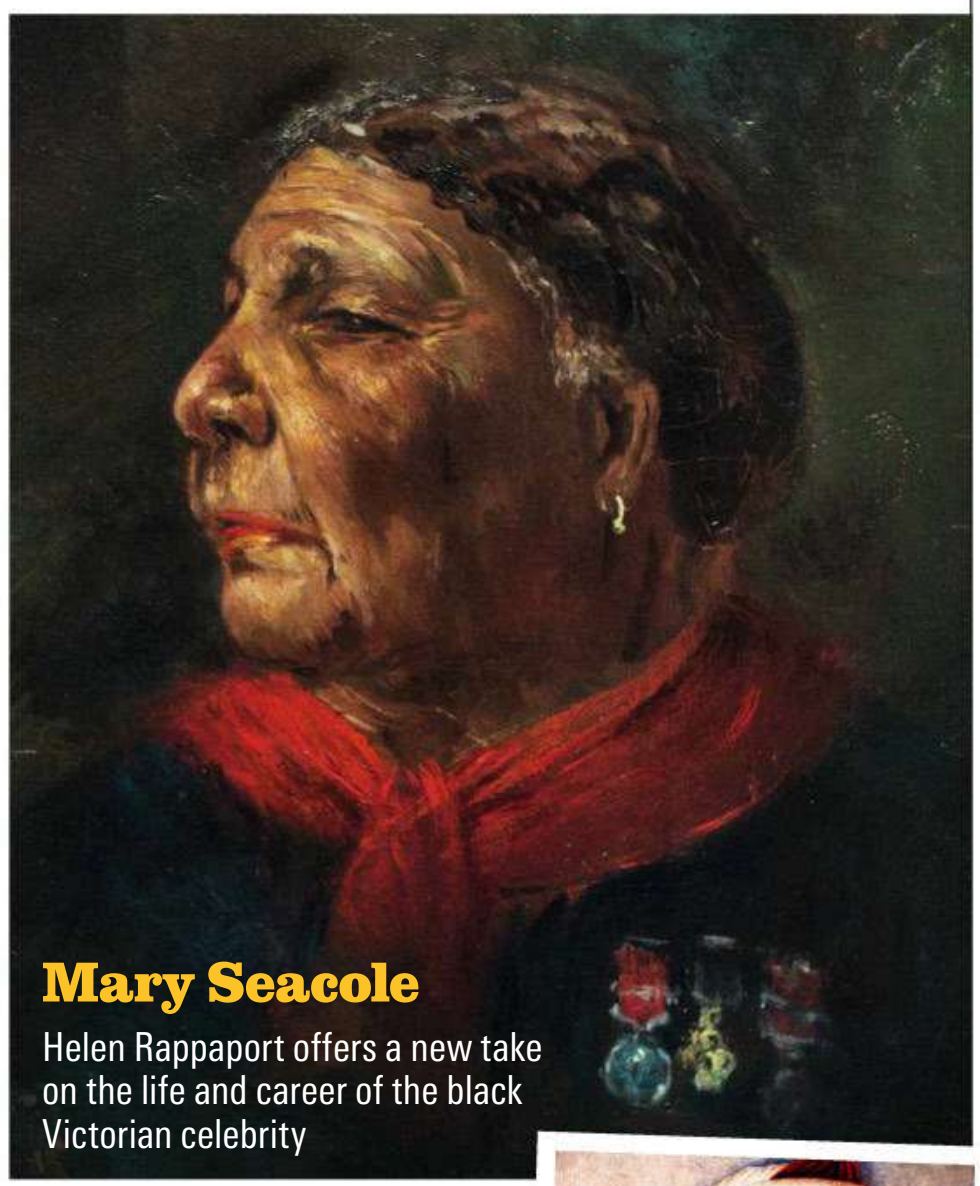
NEXT MONTH

April issue on sale 17 March 2022



Mary Seacole

Helen Rappaport offers a new take on the life and career of the black Victorian celebrity

A quest for power

Christopher de Bellaigue charts the remarkable rise of the 16th-century Ottoman leader Suleiman the Magnificent

The darkest hour?

Taylor Downing argues that 1942, rather than 1940, represented the low point of the Second World War for Britain and its leader

Island mystery

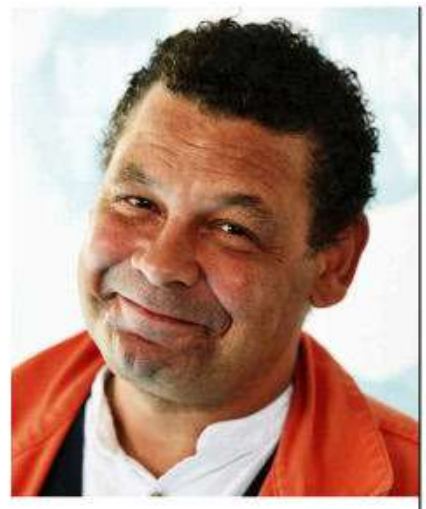
Cat Jarman tackles popular myths about the fate of the people of Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

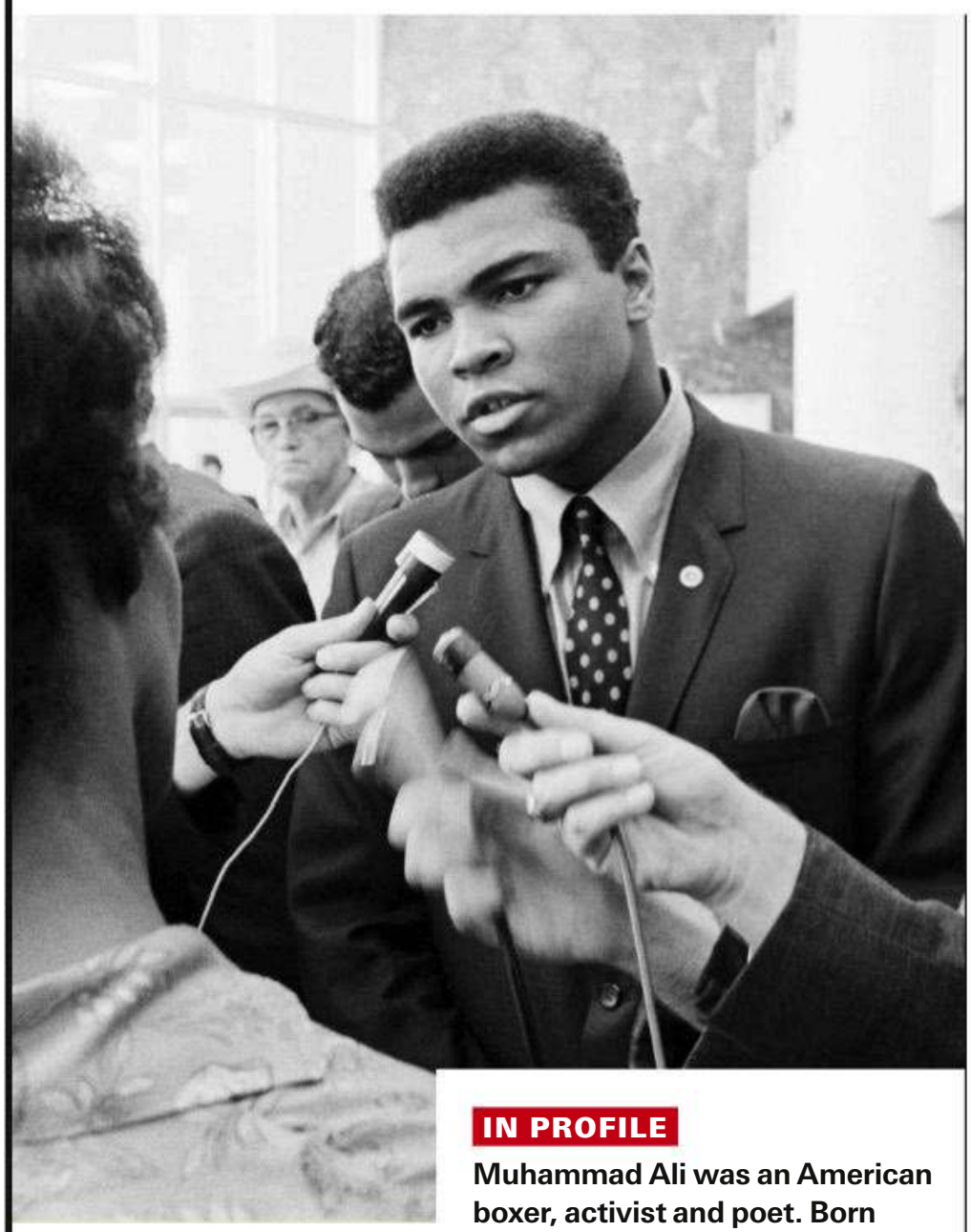
MY HISTORY HERO

Actor, comedian and BBC DJ ***Craig Charles*** *chooses*

Muhammad Ali

1942–2016





Muhammad Ali addresses the press after his conviction for draft evasion in 1967. "He was a man of courage," says Craig Charles. "He wasn't afraid to defy the conventions of the time, for instance in his stance against the Vietnam War"

IN PROFILE

Muhammad Ali was an American boxer, activist and poet. Born Cassius Clay, he changed his name after converting to Islam. Nicknamed "The Greatest", he won a gold medal at the 1960 Summer Olympics and became the heavyweight champion of the world. In the mid-1980s he made public his diagnosis with Parkinson's disease, a condition that may have been linked to head blows sustained during bouts.

> "White supremacists loathed him. He's one of the most underrated black rights activists of the whole civil rights movement"

Craig Charles is an actor, comedian and DJ for BBC Radio 6 Music (weekdays 1–4pm). *The Craig Charles Trunk of Funk Vol 2* album is out now on Soul Bank Music

When did you first hear about Ali? As a kid I got very involved in his story because everyone said I looked a bit like him. He was the greatest boxer of his era, and arguably the greatest sportsman of the 20th century. I found it inspiring that someone who was world famous looked like me! I was also attracted by his clever wordplay – be it his famous "float like a butterfly, sting like a bee" quip or his "I've wrestled with alligators" freestyle rap. That was one of the reasons I decided to become a poet. He's been called the first rapper, and rightly so in my eyes.

What kind of man was he? First and foremost, he was his own man. Yes, he was a braggart, a boaster and a showman – but he was also a man of courage, as he showed both in the ring and in the way he wasn't afraid to defy the conventions of the time, for instance in his stance against the Vietnam War. In a similar vein, he changed his name from Cassius Clay – which he regarded as a slave name – to Ali. Last, not only was he a handsome man but also an intelligent, witty one, as he frequently showed.

What made Ali a hero? Lots of things, among them his opposition to the Vietnam War. That led to him being stripped of his boxing titles and facing jail after being found guilty of evading the draft, though he successfully appealed against his conviction. He also spoke up for himself and took care of the business end of things as well as the boxing. You can see why white supremacists loathed him and subjected him to so many death threats. I think he's one of the most underrated black rights activists of the whole civil rights movement.

What was his finest hour? First, the way he stood up to the US military and refused to fight the Viet Cong. Second, his brilliance in the ring – you only have to watch footage of his fights against the likes of Sonny Liston, Joe Frazier and George Foreman (in the "Rumble in the Jungle") to see that he really was the greatest boxer of all time. Third, the way he'd often come back and win despite taking a heavy beating. And fourth, the dignity and grace with which he faced up to Parkinson's disease later in life.

Is there anything that you don't particularly admire about him? Not really – he had to do the bragging and the boasting to make it to the top of his profession.

What would you ask Ali if you could meet him? I'd ask him what it was like in the Deep South in the sixties, when he couldn't drink from the same water fountain as a white man, and how much he thought things had really changed since then. H

Craig Charles was talking to York Membery

GETTY IMAGES

This was Sylvia's promise to you...

A generation ago, a woman named Sylvia made a promise. As a doctor's secretary, she'd watched stroke destroy the lives of so many people. She was determined to make sure we could all live in a world where we're far less likely to lose our lives to stroke.

She kept her promise, and a gift to the Stroke Association was included in her Will. Sylvia's gift helped fund the work that made sure many more of us survive stroke now than did in her lifetime.

Sylvia changed the story for us all. Now it's our turn to change the story for those who'll come after us.

Stroke still shatters lives and tears families apart. And for so many survivors the road to recovery is still long and desperately lonely. If you or someone you love has been affected by stroke – you'll know just what that means.

But it doesn't have to be like this. You can change the story, just like Sylvia did, with a gift in your Will. All it takes is a promise.

You can promise future generations a world where researchers discover new treatments and surgeries and every single stroke survivor has the best care, rehabilitation and support network possible, to help them rebuild their lives.

Big or small, every legacy gift left to the Stroke Association will make a difference to stroke survivors and their families.

Find out how by calling 020 7566 1505

or email legacy@stroke.org.uk

or visit stroke.org.uk/legacy

Rebuilding lives after stroke

The Stroke Association is registered as a charity in England and Wales (No 211015) and in Scotland (SC037789).
Also registered in the Isle of Man (No. 945) and Jersey (NPO 369), and operating as a charity in Northern Ireland.

Stroke Association

Spelunkers: Incomparable. Indomitable Unpronounceable.

Let's hear it for the 'spelunkers'. The subterranean explorers of the 1970s who did for caving what Mallory did for mountaineering. And the inspiration behind 'GMT-explorer' watches, which provided 24-hour timekeeping for light-starved cavers. Now we've resurrected the genre with the new C63 Sealander GMT. Not only does it boast a twin timezone movement, a hi-vis 24-hour hand and a dial that's as legible as it is beautiful, but, happily, you don't have to be a spelunker to wear one.

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